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CRITICAL STUDIES
ON
KĀTYĀYANA'S
SUKLAYAJURVEDAPRATISAKHYA

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FOREWORD

This is a short work containing the results of the study of Kātyāyana's Vājasaneyiprātiśākhyā by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sarma when he was a member of the Sanskrit Department of the University. In the book the author discusses various aspects of the problem. The book was printed by the author under the auspices of the University after he ceased to be a member of the Department. The text of the Prātiśākhyā, with two commentaries is published as No. 5 of the Sanskrit Series.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,
4th September, 1934,

C. KUNHAN RAJA.
Reader in Sanskrit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Generalia	...	1
	Notes	...	7
Chapter	I. Description of Śukla-Yajur-Veda	...	11
	Notes	...	44
Chapter	II. General Character of the Śukla-Yajur-Veda-Prātiśākhya	...	65
	Notes	...	134
Chapter	III. Geneses of the Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya	...	156
Section	I. Varṇasamāmnāya or the Enumeration of Letters	...	178
	II. Saṁjñās and Paribhāṣās	...	193
	III. Rules regarding Svара or accentuation	...	237
	IV. Euphonic Changes and Combinations	...	260
Chapter	IV. Two Supplementary works on the Kātyāyana-Prātiśākhya	...	398
	Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa	...	398
·Kaṇḍikā	I. Section of Accent	...	405
	II. Rules of Pronunciation	..	407
	III. The Changes of 'Anusvāra' and 'Visarga' and Vowel-Lengthening	...	411
	II. Bhāṣikā-pariśiṣṭa	...	412
Chapter	V. Other Minor treatises on the Śukla-Yajur-Vedic Text	...	432

CRITICAL STUDIES ON KATYAYANA'S SUKLA-YAJUR-VEDA-PRATISAKHYA.

GENERALIA.

The Chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley, which is quite different from the Vedic civilisation, is considered to be pre-historic and pre-Aryan, for, the relics of the pre-historic period, which at present furnish insufficient evidence as to their age and origin, newly discovered at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa contain purely non-Vedic elements.¹ These archæological finds contain among other things specimens of pottery, old types of coins, and many engraved and inscribed seals. The inscriptions on the stone seals are in an unknown script from which it is inferred that the people who made these seals were influenced by the Sumerian civilisation, and borrowed their artistic style and the elements of their writing from it (about 3000-2800 B. C.).²

According to modern scholars, the Aryan invasion, the age of which remains conjectural, but which, if we believe Professor Macdonell,³ who has 'good grounds' for his inference, might have taken place in the fourteenth century B. C., may with greater propriety be ascribed to

1. See *Survival of the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus Valley*. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 41.

2. *India's Past*. pp. 9-11. A. A. Macdonell. 1927. Oxford, and *Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro Excavations*. Sir J. Marshall, Illustrated London News, Sept., 20, 1924.

3. *India's Past*. p. 12.

a period not much later than that of the Chalcolithic civilisation. It is also believed, that the new-comers counted among them priests and poets who used to offer sacrificial ceremonials to the Nature-deities *Varuṇa*, *Vāyu*, *Agni* etc., and who composed occasionally many hymns in their spoken language—known as the Aryan language—which is the earliest form of Sanskrit preserved in those hymns. This language and the Aryan fire-cult are said to have been brought into India by the foreign invaders who entered by the North-western passes. It is not possible, we are told,⁴ to determine whether the Aryan invaders swept away the pre-Aryan civilisation of the Indus Valley just as at a much later period Brahmanism swept away Buddhism or whether like the later Muslim invaders of India, the Aryans established themselves as a powerful minority among the native population, the contact of the Aryan and pre-Aryan cultures resulting thereby in the birth of a mixed Hindu civilisation.⁵

4. *Survival of the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus Valley*, p. 1. Ibid.

5. The fact is that the Aryan invasion of scholars is entirely a creation of fancy. As a result of their researches scholars were able to observe resemblances in language, mythology, and religion between the Indian and the Persian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic races. This comparative view led them to imagine an original home—Asia minor—of the nations by whom these languages were spoken, a home from which for some reason or other one band of wanderers emigrated to India. But there is absolutely no support for all these inferences. Early Indian books of stories contain no traces of the remembrance of foreign countries by Aryans, not the remotest reference to the entry into India of their forefathers. The Vedas and Purāṇas say that Purūravas learned the way of making fire by means of *Aśvattha* fire-sticks from the Gandharvas of *Ilāvṛta* (the mid-Himalayan region), which was the sacred land of the early Indians, and

The poets and priests who abounded among the Aryans are recognised as the seers of the Aryan literary monuments. Of these, the *R̥g-veda-saṃhitā* is, by common consent, the earliest, and the hymns of this *Saṃhitā* herald the dawn of history in the upper Indus Valley. The other *Saṃhitas* and works which followed the hymns of the early *R̥g-vedic* period are the texts of different recensions of the *Yajur-veda*, the *Atharva-veda*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Śrauta-sūtras*, the *Nirukta* of Yāska, the *Bṛhad-devatā* of Śaunaka, the *Prātiśākhya*s etc., which cover the literary history of India from about 1200 to 200 B. C. This period is usually known as 'The Later Vedic Period'.

The period of Vedas and allied Literature

The ancient sacerdotal literature is the sole basis of all the later civilisation of India, Safe-guards of literary, social, political or religious. Vedic works For the development of the various branches of studies philosophical, philological or political, that is the place of origin. But we do not know exactly the period when writing was first introduced into India.⁶ It is possible, however, that at this early

first lighted the three 'fires' at *Pratiṣṭhāna* (Prayāga, Allahbad) and the Aryan fire-cult, thus starting at *Prayāga*, spread north-west, west, and south, and lastly east. Vide also *The History of India*, P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar. 1925. p. 11.

6. The writing down of Vedic texts seems, indeed, not to have taken place until a comparatively late period. See *Indische Studien*. v. 18 ff. 1861.

Prof. Müller (*Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 507ff. 1859), Westergaard (*Ueber den ältesten zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte*, 1860. German Translation. 1862. p. 42ff), and Haug (*Ueber das Wesen des Vedischen Accents*, 1873. p. 16 ff) have declared themselves in favour of this theory. Haug observes that those *Brāhmins* who were converted to Buddhism were the

period Indians were familiar with writing. For, no other nation in the world has such an antique literary

first who consigned the Vedic texts to writing—for polemical purposes—and they were followed by the rest of the Brāhmins. On the contrary, Goldstücker, Bōthlingk, Whitney, and Roth (*Der Atharva-veda in Kashmire*, p. 10), are of the opposite view holding in particular, that the authors of the Prātisākhya must have had written texts before them. Benfey also formerly shared this view, but afterwards (*Einleitung in die Grammatik der Ved, Sprache*, p. 31) he expressed the belief that the Vedic texts were only committed to writing at a late date.

Burnell in his *Elements of South Indian Palaeography* on p. 19, observes as follows: "In considering the question of the age and extent of the use of writing in India, it is important to point out that the want of suitable materials, in the north at least, before the introduction of paper, must have been a great obstacle to its general use." Prof. Macdonell remarks in the following manner: "We do not know when the alphabet first began to be used in India to write down texts. In the whole of the ancient literature (Vedic) no evidence can be produced that writing was known. Buddhism arose about 500 B. C., and its sacred canon was probably completed by 400 B. C. But though here we find a good deal to prove a knowledge of writing and its extensive use at that time, there is no mention of manuscripts nor of the reading or copying of sacred texts. The explanation of this is that all the early literature was produced orally and handed down orally. This had been an established custom for centuries from the earliest times." *India's Past*, pp. 51, 62.

This subject is elaborately discussed by Prof. Müller also. Vide his *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859. pp. 497-524. There he holds that the art of writing was not yet known in India when Pāṇini lived, or according to him, about 350 B. C.

Goldstücker also started a discussion on this subject and he concludes that the Vedas were preserved in writing

wealth, and this wealth is significant of the great civilisation of early India in all branches. It stands to reason that a nation so advanced could not have been unfamiliar with writing, which must have been indispensable for traders keeping their accounts, documents etc. The early writings hitherto obtained also show that they might have undergone a long-continued elaboration. But though writing was current in this period, the families of priests who chanted hymns, handed down the Vedic texts only orally. Possibly they feared that fracture and corruption of the texts would be an unavoidable result of the use of writing. The oral method of transmitting the texts to posterity has been continued for many centuries and even to-day the student of the Vedas in India learns them only by word of mouth. But this method of learning by recitation at the feet of a master was found later on not to be a sufficiently effective way of preserving the pristine purity of the pronunciation and accentuation. And there originated, therefore, some sciences appendant on holy writ, in the later Vedic period—Śikṣas, Prātiśākhya, Anukramaṇis—which are generally known as safe-guards⁷ of the purity of Vedic texts. Prominent among these are the Prātiśākhya, four in number one for the *R̥g-veda*, one for *Atharva-veda*, and two for *Yajur-veda*. The *Kātyāyana-(Vājasaneyi-) prātiśākhya* belongs to the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, and the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* to the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*.

in Pāṇini's time, and writing was known before Pāṇini. See his *Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 13-64.

7. "The Prātiśākhya may also be regarded as safe guards of the text, having been composed for the purpose exhibiting exactly all the changes necessary for turning the *Pada* into the *Samhitā* text". A. A. Macdonell. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (fourth impression) pp. 51-52.

Much in the history of the learning of the ancient Hindus is still obscure, and their works on the grammatical science are evidently the perfected fruits of a long series of learned labours. But it is likely that the grammatical sense of the ancient Hindus was awakened in a large scale by their methodical study of the canonical literature : the Veda-Samhitas and the Brāhmaṇas. The phonological study of those texts was also zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools, which resulted in the production of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises (*Prātiśākhya*s). Each of these treatises, having for its subject one principal Vedic text, draws special attention to its peculiarities of form, in a profound manner and quotes a number of authorities ; all which speaks plainly of a lively scientific activity continued during a long period.

NOTES

I

THE ORIGIN OF PRĀTISĀKHYA.

Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859. pp. 117-118.

“The origin of the Prātiśākhya may, therefore, be accounted for in the following manner : During the Brāhmaṇa period the songs of the Veda were preserved by oral tradition only : and as the spoken language of India had advanced and left the idiom of the Veda behind as a kind of antique and sacred utterance, it was difficult to preserve the proper pronunciation of the sacred hymns without laying down a certain number of rules on metre, accent and pronunciation in general. The necessity, however, of such a provision could hardly have been felt until certain differences had actually arisen in different seats of Brahmanic learning. Thus, when the attempt was made to prevent a further corruption, a certain number of local varieties in accent and pronunciation, and in the recital of the hymns, had actually crept in and become sanctioned by the tradition of different families or schools. These could not be given up, nor was there any means of determining which was the ancient and most correct way of reciting the sacred songs of the Veda. Discussions having arisen on this subject, we find in the Brāhmaṇas occasional mention of verses which, if improperly pronounced, become changed in their meaning. But even where the sense of the Veda was not affected, the respect paid by each teacher, by each family, and by each Brahmanic community to its own established oral tradition, was sufficient to give an imaginary value to the slightest peculiarities of pronunciation, accent, or metre.

A twofold advantage was gained when the rules and exceptions of the old sacred dialect were first reduced to a system. First, ancient dialectical differences, many of which

are not so much attributable to corruptions as to the freedom of the old spoken language, were carefully preserved, and even apparent irregularities and exceptions were handed down as such, instead of being eliminated and forgotten. Secondly, a start was made towards a scientific study of language ; by the collection of a large number of similar passages, general laws were elicited which afterwards served as the phonetic basis of a grammar like that of Pāṇini ;—a work which, although ascribed to one author, must have required ages of observation and collection before its plan could be conceived or carried out by one individual. Even the Prātiśākhya, though they do not refer to grammar properly so called, but principally to the phonetic laws of language, pre-suppose a long-continued study of grammatical subjects previous to the time of their composition. The best proof of this lies in the great number of authors quoted in the Prātiśākhya themselves. Though we are not now in possession of the works of these earlier authors, yet we have a right to assume that their doctrines existed formerly in the shape of Prātiśākhya.”

II

Macdonell. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 38-39. (fourth impression).

“ Besides these ritual and legal compendia, the Sūtra period produced several classes of works composed in this (sūtra) style, which, though not religious in character, had a religious origin. They arose from the study of the Vedas, which was prompted by the increasing difficulty of understanding the hymns, and of reciting them correctly, in consequence of the changes undergone by the language. Their chief object was to ensure the right recitation and interpretation of the sacred text. One of the most important classes of this ancillary literature comprises the *Prātiśākhya-sūtras*, which, dealing with accentuation, pronunciation, metre, and other matters, are chiefly concerned with the phonetic changes undergone by Vedic words when combined in a sentence. They contain a number of minute observations, such as have only been made over again by the phoneticians of the present day in Europe.

A still more important branch of this subsidiary literature is grammar, in which the results attained by the Indians in the systematic analysis of language surpass those arrived at by any other nation. Little has been preserved of the earliest attempts in this direction, for all that had been previously done was superseded by the great Sūtra work of Pāṇini."

III

Winternitz. *A History of Indian Literature*. Vol. I. Translated by Mrs. S. Ketkar. Published by Culcutta University, 1927.

"Saṃhitā-pāṭhas and Pada-pāṭhas, then, are the oldest productions of the Śikṣā schools. The oldest text-books of this Vedāṅga which have come down to us are, however, the Prātiśākhya, which contain the rules by the aid of which one can form the Saṃhitā-pāṭha from the Pada-pāṭha. Hence they contain instruction upon the pronunciation, the accentuation, the euphonic alterations of the sounds in the composition of words and in the initial and final sound of words in the sentence, upon the lengthening of vowels, in short upon the whole manner of the recitation of the Saṃhitā. Every Śākhā or recension of a Saṃhitā had a text-book of this nature, hence the name Prātiśākhya, i. e., 'text-books, each intended for a Śākhā'. First of all we have a *Rg-veda-prātiśākhya*, which is ascribed to Śaunaka, who is supposed to have been a teacher of Āśvalāyana. This work is in verse, and is probably a later revision of an earlier Sūtra-text : it is even called 'Sūtra' in manuscripts and quotations. *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya-sūtra* belongs to the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* : a *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya-sūtra*, ascribed to Kātyāyana, belongs to the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, and the *Atharva-veda-saṃhitā* has an *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya-sūtra*, which is supposed to be of the school of the Śaunakas. There is also a *Sāma-prātiśākhya*, and the *Puṣpa-sūtra* is a kind of Prātiśākhya to the Uttaragāna of the *Sāma-veda*. A further work dealing with the manner of singing the Sāmans at the sacrifice is the *Pañcavidha-sūtra*.

These works are of two-fold importance : firstly, for the history of grammatical study in India, which, as far as we know, commences with these Prātiśākhya. Though they are not actually grammatical works themselves, they treat of subjects pertaining to grammar, and the quotations from so many grammarians prove that the study of grammar was already flourishing at their time. Secondly, they are still more important, because they are pledges of the fact that the texts of the Saṃhitās as we have them to-day, have remained unaltered through all the centuries since the time of the Prātiśākhya."

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF ŚUKLA-YAJUR-VEDA.

According to one version all the Vedic texts are called by the term 'Yajur-veda', because their recitation is useful to any religious ceremony. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*¹ states that this Yajur-veda is divided into four Vedas.²

• 1. *Caranavyūha-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya*. Kaṇḍikā, ii. (Benares Sanskrit Series, 1888).

2. The original Vedic work is said to be regarded by the ancient Indians to have been revealed by Brahman, and to have been preserved by ancient tradition, until it was arranged in its present order by a sage, who is known by the surname of Veda-Vyāsa: compiler of the Vedas. He distributed the original Indian scripture into four parts, which are severally entitled *R̥k*, *Yajus*, *Sāman*, and *Atharvan*; and each of which bears the common denomination of Veda. "Vyāsa having compiled and arranged the scriptures, theogonies, and mythological poems, taught the several Vedas to as many disciples viz., the *R̥k* to Paila, the *Yajus* to Vaiśampāyana and the *Sāman* to Jaimini as also the *Atharvaṇa* to Sumantu, and the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* to Sūta. These disciples instructed their respective pupils, who, becoming teachers in their turn, communicated the knowledge to their own disciples; until at length, in the progress of successive instruction, so great variations crept into the text, or into the manner of reading and reciting it, and into the no less sacred precepts for its use and application, that eleven hundred different schools of scriptural knowledge arose."

“Eka eva yajur-vedas tam caturdhā vyakalpayat.”

The Yajur-veda which is supposed to be one among these, is in two different kinds called *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śukla* or Black and White. The common names of these two Vedic texts, are *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* and *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* respectively. It is the common practice among the people that the followers of one of these texts will blame the other text. For instance, the followers of *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* used to find fault with *Kṛṣṇa-yajur-vedic* text and the following dictum³ makes it clear :

“Ādhvaryavam kvacidh hautram kvacid ity avyavas-
[thayā]

Buddhimālinyahetutvāt tad yajuḥ kṛṣṇam īryate||
Vyavasthitaprakaraṇam tad yajuḥ śuklam īryate|”

Without siding with any one of these followers, if we judge the truth conveyed in the above verses, it will lead us to think that the laudatory remark on one Veda, and the finding fault with another, have no meaning of any value. The origin of *Śukla-yajur-veda* is described in the 14th Kāṇḍa of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (Bṛhadāraṇya, 5th Prapāṭhaka) in the following manner :⁴

“Cemāni śuklāni yajūṃṣi vājasaneyena yājñā-
valkyenākhyāyanta iti.”

Manu alludes that the *Ṛg-veda* originated from fire ; the *Yajur-veda* from air ; and the *Sāma-veda* from the Sun (Chapter. I, 5, 23). His commentator Medhātithi remarks that the *Ṛg-veda* opens with a hymn to fire ; and the *Yajur-veda* with one in which air is mentioned. But Kullūkabhaṭṭa has recourse to the renovations of the Universe “In one Kalpa, the Vedas proceeded from Fire, Air, and Sun ; in another from Brahman, at his allegorical immolation.”

3. Anantadeva. *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya* i. 3, and foot-note on p. 351 of Müller's *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859.

And this passage is commented on by Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda and Mahīdharācārya thus:

1. “Imāni kāṇvādīni śuklāni cuddhāni yajūṃṣi vājasaner apatyena yājñavalkyena ṛṣiṇākhyāyante śiṣyebhya upadiśyante.”⁵

2. “Vājam annam sanir dānam asyāstīti vājasaniḥ.”⁶

The sense of the above extract of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* which asserts that the *White Yajur-veda* was proclaimed by Yājñavalkya-Vājasaneyā, is similar to the statement of Kātyāyana, who, in his *Sarvānukramaṇi*, says that Yājñavalkya received the Yajur-veda from the Sun.⁷ Besides these, it is found in *Bhāgavata* (12th Book), *Vārāha-purāṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and other ancient works. Authors like Uvvaṭa, Mahīdāsa (commentator on the *Caraka-vyūha-pariśiṣṭa*), etc., have also reproduced the same account of the origin of the *Sukla-yajur-veda*, which is based on an ancient legend, and it is in the following manner :

Once, the sage Yājñavalkya became the sole cause to the disrespect of Brahmins, and by the command of his preceptor, he was forced to give away all the Vedic portions taught to him. As it was not proper to take these vomited Vedic portions in their own form, the sages adopted the form of the bird Tittiri—the francoline partridge—and took the portions. These Vedic portions are called Taittiriya. Then Yājñavalkya prayed to the Sun-God, who thereupon taught him a new vedic text, taking the form of a vājin (horse). This text is called

4. 5. *Pratiñā-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya*, i. 3.

• 6. Ibid.

7. Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, p. 353.

Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā. The portion of the *Bhāgavata*,⁸ in

8. *Bhāgavata*. xii. 6.

"The more recent version of the Yajur-veda was called *Sukla* or bright, on account of the clear separation of hymns and rules, or, according to others, on account of its enabling the reader to distinguish clearly between the offices belonging to the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu. A more popular explanation is given by Colebrooke from Mahīdhara's commentary on the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*. It occurs also in the *Purāṇas*: 'The *Yajus*, in its original form, was at first taught by *Vaiśaṃpāyana* to twenty-seven pupils. At this time, having instructed *Yājñavalkya*, he appointed him to teach the Veda to other disciples. Being afterwards offended by the refusal of *Yājñavalkya* to take on himself a share of the sin incurred by *Vaiśaṃpāyana*, who had unintentionally killed his own sister's son, the resentful preceptor bade *Yājñavalkya* relinquish the science which he had learnt. He instantly disgorged it in a tangible form. The rest of *Vaiśaṃpāyana*'s disciples receiving his commands to pick up the disgorged Veda, assumed the form of partridges, and swallowed the texts which were soiled, and for this reason termed 'Black'; they are also denominated *Taittirīya*, from *tittiri*, the name of a partridge. *Yājñavalkya* overwhelmed with sorrow, had recourse to the sun; and through the favour of that luminary, obtained a new revelation of the *Yajus* which is called 'White' or pure, in contradistinction to the other, and is likewise named *Vājasaneyin*, from a patronymic, as it would seem, of *Yājñavalkya* himself; for the Veda declares, 'these purer texts, revealed by the sun, are published by *Yājñavalkya*, the offspring of *Vājasanin*.' But, according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the priests who studied the *Yajus* are called *Vājins*, because the sun, who revealed it, assumed the form of a horse (*vājin*). It is clear that these are nothing but late etymological legends. *Tittiri* and *Vājin* were proper names. *Tittiri* was the pupil of *Yaska*, the pupil of *Vaiśaṃpāyana*, and it is through them that the old or dark Yajur-veda was handed down. *Yājñavalkya*, of the family of

which the origin of Śukla-yajur-veda or Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā is stated, is appended here :

“Sūta uvāca :

Samāhitātmano brahman brahmaṇaḥ parameṣṭhinaḥ |
 Hr̥dy ākāśād abhūn nādo vṛttirodhād vibhāvyate ||
 Tato 'kṣarasamāmnāyam asṛjad bhagavān ajaḥ |
 Antasthoṣmasvafasparśahrasvadīrghādilaḥkṣaṇam ||
 Tenāsau caturo vedāṃś caturbhir vadanair vibhuḥ |
 Savyāhṛtikān soṅkārān cāturhotravivakṣayā ||
 Vaiśaṃpāyanaśiṣyā vai carakādhvaryavo 'bhavan |
 Yac cerur brahmahatyāṃhaḥkṣapaṇam svaguror vratam ||
 Yājñavalkyaś ca tacchiṣya āhāho bhagavan kiyāt |
 Caritenālpasārāṇām cariṣye 'ham suduścaram ||
 Ity ukto gurur apy āha kupito yāhy alam tvayā |
 Viṣṛāvamastrā śiṣyeṇa madadhītam tyajāśv iti ||
 Devarātasutas so 'pi ccharditvā yajuśām gaṇam |
 Tato gato 'tha munayo dadṛśus tān yajurgañān ||
 Yajūṃṣi tittirā bhūtvā tallolupatayā daduḥ |
 Taittirīyā iti yajuśśākhā āsan supeśalāḥ ||
 Yājñavalkyas tato brāhman cchandāṃsy adhigaveṣayan |
 Guror avidyamānāni sūpatasthe 'rkam īśvaram ||

Yājñavalkya uvāca :

Om namo bhagavate ādityāyākhilajagatām ātma-
 svarūpeṇa kālasvarūpeṇa caturvidhabhūtanikāyānām
 brahmādiṣṭaṃbaparyantānām antarhṛdayeṣu bahir api
 cākāśa iva upādhinā avyavadhīyamānaḥ bhagavān eka
 eva kṣaṇalavanimeṣāvayavopacitasanivatsaragaṇenāpām
 ādānavisargābhyām imām lokayātrām anuvahati.

Yad uha vāva vibudharṣabha savitar adas tapaty anu-
 savaṇam ahar ahar āmnāyavidhinopatiṣṭhamānānām

the Vājasaneyins, was the founder of the more modern or
 bright Yajur-veda.” Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit
 Literature*. 1859. pp-174, 175, foot-note.

akhiladuritavṛjīnabijāvabharjana bhagavatas samabhidhī-
mahi tapanamaṇḍalam.

Ya iha vāva sthiracaranikarāṇām nijaniketanānām
manaindriyāsugaṇānām ātmanas svayam ātmāntaryāmī
pracodayati.

Ya evemam lokam atikarālavadanāndhakārasaṁjñā-
jagaragrahagilitam saṁmṛtakam iva vicetanām ava-
lokyānukampayā paramakāruṇika ikṣayaivotthāpyāhar
ahar anusavanam śreyasi svadharmaḥkhyātmāvasthāne
pravartayatyanavanipatir ivāsādhūnām bhayam udīrayan
naṭati.

Parita āśāpālais tatra tatra kamalakośāñjalibhir
upahr̥tārhaṇaḥ.

Atha ha bhagavaṁs tava caraṇanalinayugalam tri-
bhuvanagurubhir vanditam aham ayātayāmayajuḥkāma
upasarāmi.

Sūta uvāca:

Evam stutas sa bhagavān vājirūpadharo hariḥ |
Yajūṁṣyayātayāmāni munaye 'dāt prasāditaḥ ||
Yajurbhir akaroc chākhā daśa pañcaśatair vibhuḥ |
Jagr̥hur vājasanyas tāḥ kṇva-mādhyandinādayaḥ ||"

The derivation of the word 'vājasaneya' is described
by several authors: Vijayadhvaṇi, Śrīdharasvāmin, (commentators on the
The name Vaja- *Bhāgavata*), and Mahīdhara. It is
saneya. given below:

1. "Vājasanas sūryaḥ, tata āgatās śākhā vājasan-
yas tās śākhāḥ kṇvādayo mādhyandinādayas ca." ⁹

2. "Raviṇāśvarūpeṇa vājebhyaḥ kesarebhyo vājena
vegena vā sanyastās tyaktās śākhā vājasaneyī-saṁjñāḥ." ¹⁰

9. See foot-note on p. 34. *Carana-vyūha-parīśiṣṭa-
bhāṣya*. Kaṇḍikā, ii. Benares Sanskrit Series, 1888.

10. Ibid.

However, the name of this Vedic text is derived from the surname 'vājasaneya' which is given to the preceptor Yājñavalkya, to whom this Vedic text is attributed. The passage from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and its comment by Mahīdhara, already extracted above explain 'vājasaneya' as a patronymic—'vājasaneyena yājñavalkyena'—'vājasaner apatyena yājñavalkyena'—'by the son of vājasani'. In *Mahābhārata* xxii. 1507 this word is used as an epithet of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajus (*Śatapatha*) is also generally termed *Vājasaneya-brāhmaṇa*. To mean this the word 'vājasani' is to be taken as an appellative, because it signifies—'vājam annam samir dānam asyāstīti vājasaniḥ, the giver of the food'—and refers to the chief object lying at the root of all sacrificial ceremonies, the obtaining of the necessary food from the Gods, whom the sacrifices are to propitiate.

There is also another name 'ayātayāma' to this *Śukla-yajur-vedic* text. This name is neither familiar in works, nor is it current among the people of the *Śukla-yajur-vedic* school. But there is a direct citation of this name, in a verse of the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*, which describes the origin of the *Śukla-yajur-veda*. This verse is as follows: "Ayātayāmāni tu bhānuguptāny anyāni jātāny atinīrasāni | Yajūṃṣi teṣām atha yājñavalkyo hy ayātayāmāni raver avāpa||"

The sense of the word 'ayātayāma' gives the meaning 'agatasārāni' or 'viriyavanti'.

The total number of the Ṛk and Yajus (prayers employed at solemn rites) hymns of the *Sukla-yajur-veda* is calculated by Kātyāyana in his *Ṛg-yajuh-pariśiṣṭa* in the following manner :

“Dve sahasre śate nyūne mantre vājasaneyake|
 Ṛggaṇaḥ parisamkhyātaś śeṣam anyad ṛco yajuḥ||
 Aṣṭau sahasrāṇi śatāni cāṣṭāv aśītyanyāny adhikāni ya-
 jūṃṣi|
 Etat pramāṇam yajuṣām tu kevalam saśukriyam sakhi-
 lam yājñavalkyam||”

In early days, this text was very familiar to and current among the people who were inhabiting the prācya regions (the eastern country, the country south or east of the river Sarasvatī), the udīcya (the country to the north and west of the river Sarasvatī), and the naiṛtya (the south-western country), and it was specially patronised by the people of the following countries :

The countries in which this text was familiar

“Aṅgavaṅkakaliṅgāṃś ca kāmīno gurjaras tathā|
 Vājasaneyī śākhā ca mādhyandinī pratiṣṭhitā||”
 “Ṛṣiṇā yājñavalkyena sarvadeśeṣu viśṛtā|”¹²

The *White yajus* was taught by Yājñavalkya to 15 pupils who founded as many schools. Thus *Śukla-yajur-veda* has its own 15 different schools. They are :

Various schools or Sakhas.

1. Jābāla, 2. Baudhāyana, 3. Kāṇva, 4. Mādhyandineya, 5. Śāpheyā, 6. Tāpanīya, 7. Kāpola, 8. Pauṇḍara, 9. Vatsa, 10. Āvaṭika, 11. Paramāvaṭika, 12. Pārāśara, 13. Vaineya, 14. Addha, and 15. Baudheyā.

In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* the Kāṇvas, the Kāṇvaka, a yellow (piṅgala) Kāṇva, and Kāṇvāyana and also their peoples are mentioned. The school of the Kāṇvas is

The name Kāṇva

11. *Pratiññā-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya*. i. 3. See also *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. iii. 5. 28.

12. See *Caranavyūha-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya*. Kaṇḍikā, ii.

referred to in the *Kāṭhaka*. The *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* also mentions a teacher Kāṇva. Further, it appears in the Pravara section of Āśvalāyana and in Pāṇini iv. 2. 11.

Except in the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* the name Mādhyandina is not found in any other sūtras or similar works. But in the supplement to the *Vṛhad-āranyaka*, in the lists of teachers, a Mādhyandināyana (iv. 6. 2) is mentioned. The Mādhyandinas are not mentioned in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.¹³ The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya (about 650. A. C.) commenting on Pāṇini vii. 1. 94 mentions a grammarian Mādhyandini, as a pupil of Vyāghrapād (vyāghrapadām variṣṭhaḥ).¹⁴ In the Brāhmaṇa also two Vaiyāghrapadyas and one Vaiyāghrapādiputra are mentioned.

All these schools or Śākhās are generally named after their founders, who were the recipients of the text direct from the sage Yājñavalkya. For example, one of the above names is defined thus:

“Mādhyandineya — mādhyandina-saṃjñena maharṣiṇā labdho Yājñavalkyāc chākhāviśeṣo mādhyandino yajur-vedaḥ, tam adhiyate vidanti vā śiṣyaparaṃparayā vartamānās te mādhyandinā ucyante. Mādhyandinānām ayaṃ mādhyandineyaḥ.”

The others should be defined in the same manner.

Among these fifteen schools, the most popular and prominent one is the Kāṇva school.

“Tatrāpi ca śivās śākhā daśa pañca ca vājinām |
Tatrāpi mukhyā vijñeyā śākhā yā kāṇvasaṃjñikā ||”

13. Vide *Indische Studien*. xiii, 417.

14. See Böhrtlingk. *Pāṇini*. Introduction, p. 1.

"Vājasaneyavedasya prathamā kāṇvasaṃjñikā¹⁵]"

And next to that, those of the Mādhyandinas, Jābālas, Baudhāyanas, and Tāpanīyas.

In the *Śukla-yajur-veda*, which is strictly a liturgical collection, the sacrificial formulas are separated from their ritual basis and dogmatical explanation. And the matter is orderly and systematically distributed which is so confusedly mixed up in the *Black Yajus*. This fact can be explained from its name *Śukla* which is explained as 'śuddhāni yajūṃṣi'. Dvivedagaṅga explains 'śuklāni yajūṃṣi' by 'śuddhāni yad vā brāhmaṇanāmiśritamantrātmakāni'.¹⁶

The name Śukla explained

15. *Caranavyūha-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya*. Kaṇḍikā, ii.

16. "It is usually assumed that the name 'White' Yajur-veda means 'clear, well-arranged' Yajur-veda, and that it indicates the clear distinction between sacrificial utterances and explanations of ritual in the same, while 'black' Yajur-veda means 'unarranged' Yajur-veda. This explanation emanating from Indian commentator's, seems very improbable to me. But already in Śatap. Br. XIV. 9, 4, 33, (cf. IV, 4, 5, 19), the 'white sacrificial utterances' (Śuklāni Yajūṃṣi) are called *ādityāni* 'revealed by the sun'; and the Purāṇas, too, relate that Yājñavalkya received new sacrificial utterances from 'the sun' (Viṣṇu-purāṇa III, 5). I believe that the 'white Yajur-veda' owes its name to this connection with the sun. In contrast to this, the older Yajur-veda was then called the 'black' one. It is most probable that the saṃhitā of the white Yajur-veda is most closely related to the original form of the Veda of the Adhvaryu, as Pischel thinks, KG, 172. cf. *Keith*, HOS, Vol. 18, pp. LXXXV ff, on the mutual relationship of the Saṃhitās of the Yajur-veda." Winternitz. *A History of Indian Literature*. English Translation. Vol. I, p. 171. footnote.

In both the recensions, Kāṇva and Mādhyandina, which are the two slightly discordant versions of *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, and the texts of which alone are available for the present, this *Śukla-yajur-veda* is divided into 40 Adhyāyas or chapters, and according to the Mādhyandina recension each chapter contains several Kaṇḍikas or short sections¹⁷. In one chapter the maximum number of Kaṇḍikas are 117, and the minimum number of Kaṇḍikas are 13, and the average number of Kaṇḍikas are 49. According to the subject matter the *Śukla-yajur-vedic* text portions can be divided into two main divisions Karma-kāṇḍa and Jñāna-kāṇḍa. The first 39 chapters are called Karma-kāṇḍa portions, because their recitation is very essential for religious sacrificial ceremonies, and the remaining one, the last chapter, falls under the category of Jñāna-kāṇḍa, because it treats of Parabrahman, the Supreme Spirit.

So far as we know for the present, the special feature of the *Śukla-yajur-veda* is that the Saṃhitā and its Brāhmaṇa (*Śatapatha*) have been handed down in their entirety in two distinct recen-

The Śukla yajur-veda and its Brāhmaṇa

17. "The Vājasaneyi, or White Yajus is the shortest of the Vedas; so far as respects the first and principal parts which comprehends the mantras. The Saṃhitā, or collection of prayers and invocations belonging to this Veda, is comprised in forty lectures (Adhyāyā), unequally sub-divided into numerous short sections (Kaṇḍikā); each of which, in general, constitutes a prayer or mantra. It is also divided, like the R̥g-veda, into anuvākas, as they are stated at the close of the index to this veda, appears to be two hundred and eighty-six; the number of sections or verses, nearly 2000 (or exactly 1987). But this includes many repetitions of the same text in diverse places. The lectures are very unequal, containing from 13 to

sions the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina, and both of them correspond entirely in their contents as well as in the order and system in distributing matter ; but in the latter respect, however, there are many, although slight, discrepancies. The difference mainly consists in actual variants in the sacrificial formulas and in orthographic or orthoepic peculiarities.

Among these fifteen schools, the texts of the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina have been hitherto published. Of these two recensions, it is possible to assume that the Kāṇva school is older than the other. For not only is Kāṇva the name of one of the ancient ṛṣi families¹⁸ of the *Ṛg-veda*, but the Kāṇva recension also agrees with the *Ṛg-veda* in some peculiar notations. For instance the peculiar notation of cerebral ‘ḍ’ by ‘ḷ’ and ‘ḍh’ by ‘ḷh’ of Kāṇva recension by the rule “Ḍaḍhau ḷaḷhau caikeṣām” iv. 144 agrees with that of the *Ṛg-veda*. On the other hand, it is also not fair to assume a lengthy interval between the two recensions, because they resemble each other very closely.

The differences between the text of one school and another are, the differences of readings in some places, and the additional readings of the text in some other places. In his edition of the *Śukla-yajur-vedic* text Professor Weber has given both the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina readings, but he has adopted and printed the Mādhyandina version of the text as the main body of his edition, and at the end of each chapter he

a 117. sections (Kaṇḍikas).” *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrook*, Vol. II, p. 49. 1873.

18. See *Vedic Metre in its Historical Development*, by E. Vernon Arnold, p. 57c. Cambridge, 1905.

has specially noticed the differences of the Kāṇva version of the text. From this, we can infer that the text-versions of the remaining 13 schools, which are lost to us, will also show differences in detail in the two readings. Only one text given by Yājñavalkya to his pupils, who were mainly fifteen in number, has become fifteen in slightly different versions by the recitation of pupils, who succeeded their preceptors. Madhusūdana-sarasvatī in his *Prasthāna-bheda* remarks about the origin of different schools (śākhās) in the following manner: “Evam pravacanabhedāt prativedam bhinnā bhūyasyaś śākhāḥ, for each Veda there are several śākhās, the differences of which arise from different pravacanas.” Here ‘pravacana’ means pronunciation, and the difference of pronunciation is the chief cause of Saṃhitā-śākhās.

Of these 40 Adhyāyas the first 25 contain the formulas for the general sacrificial ceremonies.¹⁹

**Contents of
Śukla-yajur-veda**

i, ii. New and full-moon sacrifice.

iii. The morning and evening fire sacrifice, as well as the sacrifices to be offered every four months at the commencement of the three seasons.

iv-viii. Soma sacrifice in general.

ix, x. Two modifications of it.

xi-xviii. Construction of altars for sacred fires.

xix-xxi. *Sautrāmaṇī*, a ceremony originally appointed to expiate the evil effects of too free indulgence in the Soma drink.

19. A comprehensive but condensed exposition of this has been commenced in Prof. Weber's papers : *Zur Kenntniss des Vedischen opferrituals* in *Indische Studien*. x. 321-396, xiii. 217-292.

xxii-xxv. Aśva-medha (horse sacrifice) : ceremony emblematic of the immolation of a horse and other animals.

Of these 25 Adhyāyas, the last seven, slightly differ in their style diction and phraseology from the others, and it leads one to think if they are later additions to the first eighteen Adhyāyas. On the other hand, according to European critics the remaining 15 Adhyāyas of the *Śukla yajur-veda* are possibly of considerably later origin. For (1) in the *Śukla-yajus-sarvānukramaṇi* attributed to Kātyāyana, in *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa*²⁰ and in Mahīdhara's commentary the Adhyāyas xxvi to xxxv are expressly called *khila* or supplement, and (2) the Adhyāyas xxxvi to xl *Śukriya* (expiating) referring to expiatory ceremonies. According to Vijñāneśvara, author of the well-known commentary called *Mitākṣarā*, on the code of Yājñavalkya written in the reign of king Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇī (A. C. 1073—1126), this statement of subject-division seems to be inappropriate. For it states that the *Śukriya* begins at xxx. 3 and in xxxvi. 1 the *Āraṇyaka* begins.²¹

xxvi-xxix. Sacrificial formulas belonging to the ceremonies treated of in the early Adhyāyas.

xxx-xxxix. The formulas for some new sacrificial ceremonies viz., the *puruṣa-medha*²² (human sacrifice) : a type of the allegorical immolation of Nārāyaṇa, or of Brahman in that character, the *sarva-medha* (universal sacrifice) : prayers and oblations for universal success, the

20. See Prof. Weber's paper *Ueber das Pratijñā-sūtra*, 1872.

21. A portion of these last books are explained in the *Āraṇyaka* part of the *Brāhmaṇa*.

22. Vide *Ueber Menschenopfer bei den Indern der vorchristlichen zeit* in Ind. Streifen, i. 54ff.

pitṛ-medha (oblation to the Manes): obsequies in commemoration of a deceased ancestor, and the pravargya (purificatory sacrifice).²³

The last adhyāya (xl) has no sort of direct reference to the sacrificial ceremonial. It can be regarded as an Upaniṣad, just like the other parts of the *Śukla-yajur-veda* which are, in later times, looked upon as Upaniṣads. For instance the sixteenth book is called as *Śatarudrīya-paniṣad*, and the beginning of the thirty-fourth book as *Śiva-saṅkalpo-paniṣad*. The Buddhist author Yaśomitra, scholiast of the *Abhidharmakośa*, states the *Śatarudrīya* to be a work by Vyāsa against Buddhism, whence, however, we have probably to conclude only that it passed for, and was used as, a principal support for Śiva worship, especially in its detached form as a separate Upaniṣad.²⁴

As for the origin and date of the *Śukla-yajur-veda* we have sufficient proofs in the prose portions which are peculiar to it, that it has an origin from the eastern parts of the Hindustan or the east of the Indus river, in the country of the Kuru-pāñcālas, and that it belongs to a period when Brahmanism had already gained supremacy, and when at all events the hierarchy of the Brahmins, and the caste system, were completely organised. We have also external grounds for assuming that the present redaction of the Saṃhitā of the *Śukla-yajur-veda* dates from the third century B. C., because Megasthenes mentions a set of

23. This is not a literal translation to the word 'pravargya'. According to Haug on *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* i. 18. p. 42 "a preparatory rite intended for providing the sacrificer with a heavenly body, with which alone he is permitted to enter the residence of the Gods".

24. Vide Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*. p. 568, Indische Studien. ii. 22.

people, and the name of this set recurs in the Mādhyandinas, one of the principal schools of the Śukla-yajur-veda. The country of the Mādhyandinas is situated precisely in the middle of that 'madhyadeśa' the limits of which are described in the *Pratijñā-paraśiṣṭa*.²⁵ But, this statement can not be looked upon as a final one, because we have seen the word 'Mādhyandina' as relating to 'southern': generally denoting any southern people or any southern school. For instance we find mention of the word 'Mādhyandina-Kauthūmas' which means Southern Kauthūmas. These words Mādhyandina and Kauthūma appear side by side in an inscription.²⁶

Several Sūtras of Pāṇini state that he was acquainted with the Yajur-veda.²⁷ But it is not certain whether he was in contact with the Black as well as the White, or with the Black only. The word Vājasaneyin does not occur in any Sūtra of his, but as a formation in a gaṇa to Pāṇini-sūtra IV, 3, 106, while the formation of Taittiriya, from the basic word Tittiri is described in the Sūtra IV, 3, 102 itself. In the same way, the sacred personage, Yājñavalkya, who is said to have collected or compiled not only the Śukla-yajur-vedic text, but the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa also, is also not cited in any Sūtra of Pāṇini, but merely

25. See Prof. Weber's paper *Ueber das Pratijñā-sūtra* pp. 101-105.

26. Published by Hall. *Journal. Am. Or. Soc.*, vi. 539.

27. Pāṇini mentions several vedic names: *Ṛk*, *Yajus*, *Sāman*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Chandas*, *Nigama*, *Mantra*, *Kāṭhaka* etc. Vide Sūtras 'Yajuṣy ekeṣām' (viii. 3. 104), 'Ubhayatharkṣu' (viii. 3. 8), 'Yajuṣy uraḥ' (vi. 1. 117), 'Devasumnaṣy yajuṣi Kāṭhake' (vii. 4. 38), 'Yajñakarmaṇyajaṇanyūṅkhasāmasu' (i. 2. 34), 'Dvitiyā brāhmaṇe' (ii. 3. 60), 'Vāṣapūrvasya nigame' (vi. 4. 9), 'Mantre ghasahvaranaśavṛdahādvrckṣgamijanibhyo leh' (ii. 4. 80), etc.

as a member of one of the gaṇas. It is also a doubtful matter whether both these versions of Yajur-veda were separated in the time of Pāṇini. If we turn our attention to the word Śatapatha, we have again to point out that it occurs only in a gaṇa to V, 3, 100.

The *Śukla-yajur-veda* has been published several times in many places, at Bombay, Ajmer, Benares, Calcutta, Mathura, Madras, Germany etc. Some of these publications contain the text only, the text with pada-pāṭha (an arrangement of the vedic text in which each word is written and pronounced in its original form and independently of phonetic changes), and commentaries. Among these publications, there are only two editions of the text of the Kāṇva School. All the other editions are of the Mādhyandina version of the text. There are four commentaries current on the text, of which three are old, while the other one is a recent venture.

They are as follows:

(1) *Vājasaneyi-mādhyandina-śukla-yajur-veda-saṃhitā-mantra-bhāṣya* by Uvvaṭa.

(2) *Bhāṣya-vedadīpa*, alias *Vedārtha-dīpa* by Mahīdhara.

(3) *Bhāṣya* by Sāyaṇācārya.

(4) *Bhāṣya* by Udayaprakāśa-deva.

Besides these there are some other commentaries also, which are recently written and in local vernacular dialects (Hindi). *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya* is a commentary on the text of the Kāṇva School, and it runs up to the 20th chapter of the text only.

Among the commentators of the works in Sanskrit Literature, the sage Śaunaka is considered to be the earliest author. We have not seen any commentary in

**Commentary by
Uvvaṭa.**

complete form to any of the works written by Śaunaka, and there is no evidence also to prove that he has written such a work. The *Puruṣa-sūkta-bhāṣya* which is attributed to Śaunaka is in existence now. The 31st chapter of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* contains the whole *Puruṣa-sūkta* text. Uvvaṭa, the author of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā-mantra-bhāṣya*, which is a commentary on the whole *Samhitā* has not commented upon the 31st chapter which contains the *Puruṣa-sūkta* portions of the *Ṛg-veda*, but he has simply reproduced Śaunaka's *bhāṣya* to the *Sūkta* with a small prefatory note :

“Puruṣasūktasya nārāyaṇa ṛṣiḥ. Puruṣo devatā. Anuṣṭupcchandaḥ. Antyā triṣṭup. Mokṣe viniyogaḥ. Asya bhāṣyam śaunako nāma ṛṣir akarot. Prathamam vicchedaḥ kriyākārakasambandhas samāsaḥ prameyārthavyākhyā iti.”

At the end of that chapter, the following line also is to be seen:—“Iti Puruṣa-sūkta-bhāṣyam samāptam.” The identification of the sage Śaunaka with the author of the *Bṛhad-devatā*, the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, the *Caranavyūha-pariśiṣṭa*, and other works, is a matter of great importance and requires a special comparative study, and it does not call for a discussion here. Regarding the identity of the authors of the *Bṛhad-devatā* and the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, Professor A. A. Macdonell has mentioned this topic in his introduction to the *Bṛhad-devatā*.

From the preliminary portions of the *Puruṣa-sūkta-bhāṣya* quoted above, one thing requires special mention. The early writers of commentary—works have adopted some specified principles as the basis for writing their works. They do not like to make their volumes unnecessarily bulky, by giving descriptions of matters, which are not connected with the present subject matter.

**Basic-principles
for writing works.**

Ācārya-Śaunaka has adopted a peculiar method to write his *Puruṣa-sūkta-bhāṣya* which consists of the following main principles:

(1) *Padachheda* (Resolution of a sentence into its constituent parts).

(2) *Kriyākāraka-saṃbandha* (Description of the relation between the verbs and nouns).

(3) *Samāsa* (Composition of words).

(4) *Prameyārtha-vyākhyā* (Description of the subject-matter).

A careful perusal of the *Puruṣa-sūkta-bhāṣya* makes it obvious that Śaunaka has followed these principles correctly. In the same manner several early authors have also followed certain rules and principles, to erect their literary monuments. But, in course of time, the principles have been enlarged by later writers and they have been interpreted in a wider sense. Even in Uvata's time certain principles were very familiar to the authors, and he quotes them as *Vyākhyā-dharmas* or Principles for writing a commentary, at the beginning of his *Mantra-bhāṣya*. They are as follows:

“Athā vyākhyādharmāḥ :

Atiriktam padam tyājyam hīnam vākye niveśayet|
Viprakṛṣṭam tu sandadhyād ānupūrvyam ca kalpayet||
Līṅgam dhātum vibhaktim ca yojayec cānulomataḥ|
Yad yat syāc chāndasam vākye kuryāt tat tat tu
laukikam||

Athodāharaṇāni:

(1) *Atiriktam padam tyājyam iti*. Yathā.—‘imā nu kam bhuvanā sīśadhāma’ iti. Kam ity anarthako nipātaḥ.

(2) *Hīnam vākye niveśayed iti*.—‘asmād annād iti bhāgam avekṣate’ ityatrādhastano mantraśeṣa ihāpy abhi-saṃbandhaniyaḥ asmād annam nirbhakta ityādi.

(3) *Viprakṛṣṭam tu sandadhyād iti.*—‘sam revatīr jagatībhiḥ pṛcyatām’ ityatra ‘saṃpṛcyatām’ iti vyavahitasambandhaḥ.

(4) *Ānupūrvyam ca kalpayed iti.*—‘mā no mitro varuṇo aryamāyuh’ ityatra ‘yad vājino devajāsyā’ iti dvitīyo’rdharaḥ prathamam vyākhyeyuḥ. Yato hi yad vṛttam vākye prathamam bhavati.

(5) *Liṅgam dhātum vibhaktim ca yathārtham sannamayet.* Liṅgam tu vākyavaśāt sannamayet.—‘pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau’. Atra pavitre iti napuṃsakaliṅgam, vaiṣṇavyāv iti ca pulliṅgam. Tatra vaiṣṇavyāv ityasya sannatir āviṣṭaliṅgatvāt pavitraśabdasya. Dhātum dhātvartham ca sannamayet.—‘agre guvo agre puvaḥ’ iti. Atra agre puva iti sandehaḥ, kim atra pibate rūpam uta pavateḥ? Tatra śrutito nirṇayaḥ—‘tā yat prathamās somasya rājño bhakṣayanti’ iti vyākhyānāt pibater eva rūpam iti. Vibhaktim sannamayet.—‘kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema’ ityatra haviṣeti tṛtīyāyāḥ prathamāyās sannatir vākyasaṃyogāt.

Anyad api yatkiñcic chāndasam tatsarvam laukika-vihitais śabdair vyākhyeyam. Ity ayam sāmānyato vyākhyākrama uktāḥ.”²⁸

In addition to these vyākhyādharmas, there are certain vākyārthas also which are very useful in understanding the several species of Vedic hymns with their usages on ceremonial occasions. Uvvaṭa has mentioned these vākyārthas in his *Mantra-bhāṣya* and has shown their application to the Vedic hymns “Iṣe tvā” etc. They are also given below.

“Ete ca vākyārthā iṣetvādimantragāṇe prāyaśo dṛśyante²⁹.—

28 & 29. Uvvaṭa’s Avatārikā (Preface) to his *Mantra-bhāṣya*.

Vidhyarthavādayācñāśīḥ stutipraiṣapravalhikāḥ|
Praśno vyākaraṇam tarkaḥ pūrvavṛttānukīrtanam||
Avadhāraṇam copaniṣad vākyārthā syus trayodaśa|
Athaiteṣām udāharaṇāni:

(1) *Tatra vidhiḥ parameṣṭhyabhihitah*—‘aśvas tūpa-
rogo mṛgaḥ.’ ityādiḥ.

(2) *Ārthavādaḥ*—‘Devā yajñam atanvata’ ityādiḥ.

(3) *Yācñā*—‘tanūpā agne’si tanvam me pāhi.’

(4) *Āśīḥ*—‘āvo devāsa īmahe’ ityādiḥ.

(5) *Stutih*—‘agnir mūrdhā divaḥ kakut.’

(6) *Praiṣaḥ*—‘hotā yakṣat samidhāgnim’ ityādiḥ.

(7) *Pravalhikā*—‘Indrāgnī apād iyam’ ityādi.

(8) *Praśnaḥ*—‘kas svid ekākī carati’ ityādi.

(9) *Vyākaraṇam*—‘sūrya ekākī carati’ ityādi.

(10) *Tarkaḥ*—‘mā gṛdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam’
ityādi.

(11) *Pūrvavṛttānukīrtanam* — ‘oṣadhayas sam-
avadanta’ ityādi.

(12) *Avadhāraṇam*—‘tam eva viditvātimṛtyum eti.’

(13) *Upaniṣat*—‘īśāvāsyam” ityādi.’

The vyākhyādharmas and the vākyārthas are given by Uvvaṭa in his introduction of his *Mantra-bhāṣya*. As regards the method of the *Mantra-bhāṣya*, Uvvaṭa himself has adopted certain principles of his own, for writing his commentary, and he mentions them in the following opening verses:

“Gurutas tarkataś caiva tathā śātapathaśruteḥ|
Rṣin vakṣyāmi mantrāṇām devatā chāndasam ca yat||
Rco yajūmṣi sāmāni tathārthaḥ padavākyayoḥ|
Śrutayaś cātra yāḥ proktāḥ yo’rthavādaś ca karmaṇaḥ||”

In early days, even the writers of original standard
works adopted certain principles
Tantrayukti . for writing their works, and these
principles are called by the term “TANTRA-YUKTI”.

The works like Kauṭaliya's *Artha-śāstra*, *Caraka-saṃhitā*, *Tolkāppiyam* (Tamil Grammar), etc., have been constructed on the basis of these Tantra-yuktis; these works also explain the Tantra-yuktis with illustrations, at the end, for the benefit of readers. But there is difference of opinion regarding the number of these Tantra-yuktis. Some have opined that they are 32 in number, while others accept 36, and a third set of authors 35. Different works vary not only in the number of Tantra-yuktis, but also in their names and definitions. An account of Tantra-yuktis, current among ancient āyurvedic authors will be found in '*Tantrayukti-vicāra*'.³⁰

The *Mantra-bhāṣya* of Uvvaṭa to *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* is a brief commentary describing the meaning of the *Saṃhitā*-text only. Uvvaṭa does not enter into the secondary topics, that are mentioned in Śrauta works, and aims at brevity and conciseness throughout. There are three works by Uvvaṭa which have been hitherto published. They are:

Works by
Uvvaṭa.

- (1) *Pārṣada-vṛtti* on the *Ṛg-veda-prātiśākhya*.
- (2) *Prātiśākhya-nirmala-bhāṣya* on the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*.
- (3) *Mantra-bhāṣya* on the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*.

Besides these, he has also written a commentary on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇi* which is in Ms. form and not published. This work is now under the perusal of Dr. C. Kunhan Rājā, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras. Mss. of this unpublished work, are preserved in the Sarasvatimahāl Library, Tanjore, and in the D. A. V. College Library, Lahore. The closing verses of the 20th

30. Edited by Dr. Sankara Menon. in the *Trevendrum Vaidya Series*.

and 40th chapters of the *Mantra-bhāṣya* say that Uvvaṭa wrote the *Mantra-bhāṣya* when he was at Avantī, in the reign of King Bhoja (1018 A. C.?)

“Ānandapuravāstavyajaiyaṭākhyasya sūnunaḥ|
Uvvaṭena kṛtam bhāṣyam padavākyaḥ suniścitaḥ||³¹”
“Ānandapuravāstavyajajraṭākhyasya sūnunaḥ|
Uvvaṭena kṛtam bhāṣyam padavākyaḥ suniścitaḥ|
Ṛṣyādīṃś ca namaskṛtya avantīyām uvvaṭo vasaḥ|
Mantrāṇām kṛtavān bhāṣyam mahīm bhoje praśāsati||”³²

In some places of his *Bhāṣya*, Uvvaṭa gives the etymology and syntax of words, and in connection with them, he describes some grammatical points also, which are mainly based on Pāṇini's grammar. References to the rules of *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* (which is a particular treatise on the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*) which one would expect, do not occur. In numerous places he mentions the great author Yāska, the first interpreter of the Vedic texts. The full discussion about Uvvaṭa and his works, must however, be postponed to a separate paper.

Mahīdhara's commentary on *Śukla-yajur-veda* is an extensive work. This commentary
Commentary by Mahīdhara. called *Veda-dīpa* alias *Vedārtha-dīpa* was written towards the close of the sixteenth century A. C.³³ At each step he quotes

31. End of the 20th chapter.

32. End of 40th chapter.

33. On the basis of a copper-plate grant of Jayacandra, which begins “Dvātriṃśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṃvatsare bhādre māsi śuklapakṣe, trayodaśyām tithau, ravidine aṅka-to'pi saṃvat 1232.” and ends with “Mahāpaṇḍita-śrī-mahīdhara-pautrāya mahā-miśra-paṇḍita-śrī-hāleputrāya mahā-paṇḍita-śrī-hṛṣīkeśa-śarmaṇe brāhmaṇāya”, the date of Mahīdhara is fixed by some scholars as before to 1232, A. D. But.

Kātyāyana's *Śrauta-sūtra*, and describes the application of textual hymns to the respective religious sacrifices. In the introductory verses of his commentary Mahīdhara expresses his indebtedness to the works of former commentators, and mentions Uvvaṭa as one of his predecessors.

“Bhāṣyam vilokyovvaṭamādhaviyam”

On a perusal of this extract there arises a doubt, whether the word ‘*Uvvaṭa-Mādhaviya*’ denotes only one author Uvvaṭa-Mādhava or two authors Uvvaṭa and Mādhava. Scholars have made different observations on this point. There is no indication of the additional name Mādhava to Uvvaṭa in any works of his own, nor do the later authors call him by the name Mādhava. In another place (iii, 45) Mahīdhara mentions Mādhava separately. So we have to conclude that ‘*Uvvaṭamādhava*’ is not Uvvaṭa. It appears to be agreed that the

this is not acceptable as Mahīdhara himself has stated the date of completion of his *Śulba-sūtra-vṛtti* in the following manner :

“Rasavedāṅgabhūvarṣe (1646) māsyase? dhavale dale
 Trayodaśyām raver vāre vārāṇasyām mahīdharah
 Śrīratneśvaramitrasya guroḥ keśavajanmanah
 Ājñayā vivṛtim śaulbīm bhāṣyavṛttyanusārinīm
 Viduṣām sukhabodhāya vyadhād buddhyanusārataḥ
 Bhāṣyam rāmakṛtām vṛttim tārāvālocya? tattvataḥ
 Nīlakaṇṭho ramānāthas sitāmbhaś candraśekharah
 Bhairavo’tha kṛpāsindhus tena tusyān nṛkeśarī
 Iti Mahīdharaviracitā Sulbasūtravṛttis samāptā.”

However, it should not be supposed that there were several Mahīdharas, because the benedictory verse is the same in these works. And Mahīdhara also records his indebtedness to Mādhavācārya (1313 A. D.) in the beginning of his *Śukla-yajur-veda-saṃhitā-bhāṣya*. So 1700 A. D. may be safely ascribed to be the date of Mahīdhara. Vide *Pandit* 1863. Sep.

poets whose names end in "ṭa" have emigrated from Kashmir; for example—Uvvaṭa, Vajraṭa, Kaiyaṭa, Kaiyaṭa, Mammaṭa, etc. One Mādhava is known to us as the commentator of the *Ṛg-veda* and is quoted by Sāyaṇa-cārya in some places of his commentary on the *Ṛg-veda* as—"Mādhavaḥ tv evam āha". Sāyaṇa also reproduces occasionally the bhāṣya-portions of Mādhava. The full name of this Mādhava is Veṅkaṭa-mādhava. Recently Dr. Lakṣmaṇasarup has held in his paper "*Uvvaṭa and Mādhava*" (contributed to the "Fifth All India Oriental Conference" 1928, Lahore,) that Uvvaṭa and Mādhava are two separate authors and are predecessors of Mahīdhara. Further, he has stated that the Mahīdhara's commentary on *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* is an expanded version of Uvvaṭa's *Mantra-bhāṣya*. In the same paper he has also come to the conclusion that Uvvaṭa is not the son of Vajraṭa as held in Bhīmasena's commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, and at the close of the 20th chapter of *Śukla-yajur-veda*, Mādhyandina recension (edited by Vāsudev Paṇṣīkara at Bombay, 1912, or in the edition of Rāmasakalamiśraśarman, Benares, 1912-15.).

Besides the *Mantra-bhāṣya* of Uvvaṭa, *Vedārtha-dīpa* of Mahīdhara, and the commentary of Sāyaṇa on the Kāṇva text (up to the end of 20th chapter only), there is no other commentary on the *Śukla-yajur-veda* hitherto published. But there are many evidences to prove that there were many commentaries in existence on this *Śukla-yajur-veda*. The following portions are to be seen in the *Paramārtha-prapā*, a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* by Daivajñāpaṇḍita-sūrya.

Other commentaries.

"(1) Śrutir api vājasaneyi-saṃhitāsu :

Parītya bhūtāni parītya lokān

parītya sarvāḥ pradiśo diśāś ca

Upasthāya prathamajāmṛtasyātma-
nātmānam abhi saṃ viveśa. (Vāj. Saṃ. 32-11).

Bhāṣyam:

Rtasya satyasya parabrahmaṇaḥ prathamajām
prathamajātām śabalatvenopasthitām tanum upasthāyā-
dhiṣṭhāya ātmanā svarūpeṇa kṛtvātmānam abhi saṃ-
viveśa praviṣṭavān. Kim kṛtvā? Bhūtāni pṛthivyādini
parityābhivyāpya lokān bhūr-bhuvas-svarādīn diśaś ca
pradiśaś ceti tadvat.”³⁴

“(2) Śrutir api vājasaneyi-saṃhitāsu:

Īśāvāsyam idam sarvam

yatkiñca jagatyām jagat.

Tena tyaktena bhuñjīthā

mā grdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam. (Vāj. Saṃ. 6—16).

Bhāṣyam:—

Jagatyām pṛthivyām idam śuktirajatavat puro dṛśya-
mānam yatkiñcit sarvam nāma-rūpa-karmātmakam gac-
chatīti jagan naśvaram asatyam īśa satyatvādyaiśvarya-
vatā parameśvareṇa kṛtvā vāsyam vasa ācchādane ācchāda-
nīyam tiraskāryam. Atra tiraskaraṇasāmarthyam īśeti
padena dyotitam. Yathā dīpena tamas tiraskriyate na tu
tamasā dīpa ity arthaḥ. Tatas tena jagadābhāsenā tyak-
tena dūrato’pāstena kṛtvāvaśiṣṭam kasya parabrahmaṇaḥ
sukham bhuñjīthāḥ. Svit param tu viśayasukham mā
grdhaḥ, grdhu abhikāṅkṣāyām mābhikāṅkṣetyarthaḥ.”³⁵

As these extracts are not to be found in the published commentaries, this leads one to believe that some other commentaries must have also existed on this Vedic text. Daivajñapaṇḍita-sūrya has quoted and referred to, in his *Paramārtha-prapā*, many Vedic commentaries and authors hitherto not known. He also says that he is well

34. *Paramārtha-prapā*. Adhyāya. XI. Verse 20.

35. *Paramārtha-prapā*. Adhyāya V. Verse 16.

versed in Rāvaṇa's *Veda-bhāṣya* and mentions his special attachment to it.

“Viditvā vedārtham daśavadanavāṇīpariṇatam
 śataśloka-vyākhyām paramaramaṇīyām akaravam |
 Tato gītābhāṣyam nikhilanigamārthaikanilayam
 vidhijñārya sūryo nṛharikaruṇāpāṅgaśaraṇaḥ ||”
 “Gododaktatāpūrṇatīrthanikaṭe pārthābhīdhānam puram
 tatra jyotiṣikānvaye samabhavat śrījñānarājābhi-
 dhah |
 Tatsūnur nigamāgamārthanipuṇas sūryābhīdhānaḥ kaviḥ
 kṛṣṇaprerāṇayā tadarpaṇadhiyā gītārthabhāṣyam
 vyadhāt ||”³⁶

At the beginning of his *Paramārtha-prapā* Daivajña-
 paṇḍita-sūrya says that he is the disciple of Caturvedā-
 cārya alias Caturveda-svāmin, who is the commentator of
 four principle Vedic texts. From the second verse of
 the above extract it can be understood that the northern
 bank of the Godāvarī river was the dwelling place of the
 author of the *Paramārtha-prapā* and that his preceptor
 Caturveda-svāmin also must have been a native of the
 same Āndhra-deśa. There are some other unpublished
 works also attributed to Daivajña-paṇḍita which are pre-
 served in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.
 The name Caturvedācārya or Caturveda-svāmin, is, of
 course, a generic title rather than a name, indicating the
 authorship of the commentaries on the four Vedas.

Even for the *Rg-veda* there is only one commentary
 by Sāyaṇācārya hitherto published. But we have sufficient
 proof to say that there were many commentaries. In his
Niruktālocana, Satyavratasāmāśramin has made mention
 of some of these commentaries. Mr. Bhagavad Datta of
 Lahore also contributed a paper on the same subject

36. Closing verses of the *Paramārtha-prapā*.

under the heading “*Pre-Sāyaṇa Commentators to the Ṛg-veda*”. Among these commentaries, the works of Skanda-svāmin and Veṅkaṭa-mādhava are under publication in the *Trevandrum Sanskrit Series*. An edition of the Bhāṣya of Udgīthācārya is expected shortly from Lahore. In his paper Mr. Bhagavad Datta has guessed that Rāvaṇa might have written a commentary on the *Ṛg-veda*. None of these scholars have mentioned Caturveda-svāmin and his Bhāṣya works. Besides these commentaries another, by one Gomatī Dāsa, on a portion of the first Aṣṭaka of the *Ṛg-veda*, has been recently secured by Dr. C. Kunhan Rājā and is at present under his examination. Among these the one that is by Catur-veda-svāmin seems to be alone a later composition. Daivajña-pañḍita has reproduced some portions of the *Rāvaṇa-bhāṣya* and the *Catur-veda-svāmi-bhāṣya*. In some other places Daivajña-pañḍita-sūrya gives comparative reviews of different Bhāṣyas. For example :

“Tvām id dhi havāmahe satau vājasya kāravaḥ |
Tvām vṛtreṣv indra saptatim naras tvām kāṣṭhāsv
arvataḥ ||³⁷

Sāyaṇabhāṣyakārair ādhidaivikābhiprāyeṇa bāhyasaṃ-
grāmaṇiṣayo darśitaḥ. Rāvaṇa-bhāṣye tu addhyātmarītyā
ābhyanterasamgrāmaṇiṣayo darśitaḥ, voṭabhāṣye tūb-
hayam api”³⁸

To convey an idea of the style and method of these hitherto-unknown-bhāṣyas, some typical extracts are reproduced below.

Bhāṣya by Catur-veda-svāmin.

“Ṛk :

Jajñāna eva vyabādhata sprdhah

prāpaśyad viro abhi paumṣyam raṇam |

37. *Ṛg-veda*, VI, 46, 1.

38. *Paramārtha-prapā*, Adhy. ii, Verse 33.

Avṛścīd adrim iva sasyadas sṛjad

astabhnāṇ nākam svapasyayā pṛthum||³⁹

Atra Caturvedasvāmikṛtabhāṣyam—Yah parameś-
varo jajñānaḥ prādurbhūtamātro māyayā bāladaśām
svīkurvāno'pi san sprdhah spardhām kṛtavataś śātrūn
pūtanādīn kaṁsāntān vyabādhatta bādhitavān. Na
kevalam daityān, api tu śakrādīnām garvam apīty āha.
Yo'drim parvatam govardhanam, avṛścīt uddadhāra. Kim
uddīśya ; sasyado dhānyadātṛn meghān anavaratam
varṣamāṇān avāsṛjat visarjitavān. Tena pṛthum sāmār-
thyavantam nākam indralokam svapasyayā māyayā as-
tabhnāt staṁbhitavān, staṁbhitaśaktim akarot. Atha
yauvanadaśāyām apy abhipauṁsyam sarvapuruṣārthasā-
dhakam rāṇam kurupāṇḍavasamgrāmam vīro'pi sann-
apaśyat, tātaśthyena drṣṭavān, na tu svayam yuyudhe.
Atra vīrapadena bhīṣmaparābhūtasvabhaktapakṣapātād
aśastro'pi śāstram agraḥīd iti sūcitam."

Rg-dvayam :

"Dve virūpe caratas svarthe

anyānyā vatsam upadhāpayete|

Harir anyasyām bhavati svabhāvāñ-

cchukro anyasyām dadṛśe suvarcāḥ "||⁴⁰

"Pūrvāparam carato māyayaitau

śīśū-kṛīḍantau pari yāto addhvaram|

Viśvāny anyo bhuvanāni caṣṭa

ṛtūn anyo vidadhaj jāyate punaḥ "||⁴¹

Bhāṣyam :

"Dhanuryāgotsavavyājena kṛṣṇa-rāmāyor ānayanār-
tham kaṁsena preṣitaḥ suṣṭhu varco yasyāsau suvarcā

39. Rg-veda, X. 113, 4.

40. Ibid I. 95, I.

41. Ibid X. 85, 18.

akrūraś carato vicarato dve visadr̥ṣe rūpe dadr̥ṣe dr̥ṣṭavān. Kimbhūte? Svarthe suṣṭhu arthaḥ prayojanam yayos te. Na hi nṛsimhavad ekasyām mūrtau, kintu anyā anyā prthag avasthite. Punaḥ kimbhūte? Vatsam upa dhāpayete. Vatsam iti jātyabhiprāyeṇaikavacanam. Tena gosandohanāvasare svasamīpe vartamāṇair gopaiḥ kṛtvā vatsān dhāpayete pāyayete. Atha visadr̥ṣarupatvam evāha—harir iti. Anyasyām anyatamasyām mūrtau haridvarṇatvāt hariḥ meḡhaśyāmaḥ kṛṣṇo'sti, tathā anyasyām śukro gauravarṇo baladevo'sti. Kimbhūto hariḥ? svabhāvān, svasya bhā svabhā tadvān aluptanijaiśvaryavān ity arthaḥ. Kimbhūte rūpe? pūrvāparam carataḥ, prāg aparam parisaraṇam kurutaḥ. Param tu na prākṛtāv ity āha:—Etau kṛṣṇa-rāmau māyayā kṛtvā śīsū bālyadasām prāptau, paramārthato vicāryamāṇev vayo'-vasthārahitau evam māyayaiva rajakavadhādibhiḥ kriḍantau santau adhvaram dhanuryāgasthānam prati pari patataḥ samantataḥ kuvalayāpīḍa-kamṣa-cāṇūrādisthānāni yataḥ jagmatuḥ. Atha pūrvam virūpa ityanenākārato visadr̥ṣatvam dyotitam idānīm sāmartyato'py āha—Anyā iti. Anyaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ viśvāni sarvāṇi bhuvanāni bhūrbhuvassvarādīni vicaṣṭe saṅkalpenaiva jñātavān. Tathānyo baladevaḥ ṛtūn garbhān •matsyādyavatārān vidadhad gr̥hṇan san punaḥ punar jāyate āvirbhavatīti”.

Bhāṣya by Rāvaṇa.

Rk:

“Tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ |
Divīva cakṣur ātatam||”⁴²

“Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgrvāṃsas samīndhate |
Viṣṇor yat paramam padam||”⁴³

42. *R̥g-veda*. I. 22. 20.

43. *Ibid*. I. 164, 20.

Atra rāvaṇabhāṣyam :

“Viṣṇor vyāpanaśilasyāpi paramātmanas tat paramam
paramārthikam padam abhivyaktisthānam divi mūrdhni
bhrūmadhye vartate. ‘Tripād asyāmṛtam divi’ iti
śrutes satyajñānānandātmakam viṣṇoḥ padam, tat kim
sūrayo mahānubhāvāś cakṣur ātatam viśṛtam iva kṛtvā
sadāvyavadhānena paśyanti, nirantaram sāksātkurvanti.
Yad vā, cakṣur arthaprakāśam, iva evakārārthe, ātatam
aparicchinnam eva yathā syāt tathā paśyanti. Tat tasmāt
viprāso viprāś śreṣṭhamatayaḥ vipanyavaḥ medhāvino
jāgarāṁcakrur iti jāgrvāṁso dṛśyaprapaṅcād dīrghasva-
pnāt sakāśāj jāgaram prāptā ity arthaḥ. Proktavad
anubhūyamānapadam samindhate samṛddhim nayanti
sarvātmakātvena paśyanti. Atraitad uktam bhavati—
abhyāsadaśāyām suṣumnāvivareṇa bhrūmadhyaprapitayā
dṛṣṭyā paśyanti, vyavahāradaśāyām tu sakalaviṣayapratī-
tirūpeṇa tad eva paśyantīty arthaḥ.”

Rk:

“Dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā
samānam vṛkṣam pariśasvajāte |
Taylor anyāḥ pippalam svādv atty
anaśnan nanyo abhi cākaśīti||⁴⁴

Rāvaṇabhāṣyam:

“Atra laukikapakṣidvayadrṣṭāntena jīvaparamātm-
ānau stūyete. Yathā loke dvau suparṇau supatanau śo-
bhanagamanau sayujā samānayogau sakhāyā samānakh-
yānau samānam vṛkṣam ekau dehākāravṛkṣam pari-
śasvajāte āśrayataḥ. Taylor anya ekaḥ pippalam phalam
svādutaram atti. Aparā naśnan abhi cākaśīti abhipaśyati.
Tadvad dvau suparṇasthānīyau kṣetrajñaparamāt-
mānau sayujā samānayogau, yogo nāma sambandhaḥ, sa
ca tādātmyalakṣaṇaḥ, sa evātmā jīvātmanas svarūpam,

44. Rg-veda I. 22. 21.

evam anyasyāpītyaikātmye. Ata eva samānakhyānau yasya yādṛśam khyānam sphuraṇam paramātmanas tad evetarasyāpi, ata eva sakhāyau ekarūpaprakāśāv ity at-
thaḥ."

Bhāṣya by Gomatī-dāsa.

Rk:

"Agnim iḍe purohitam yajñasya devam ṛtvijam|
Hotāram ratnadhātām||"⁴⁵

Bhāṣyam:

"Agnim iḍe agnim staumi, yadi vā yāce'gnir aṅgam sannamamāno nayati agram yajneṣu praṇīyate. Savāsāṣo'gre devānām ajāyata. Tasmād agnir nāmeti ca vājasaneyakam. Purohitam āhavanīyakam sa hi puras-
tān ni.....prañetāraḥ ta.....hi puraskurvanti. Yajñasya devam yajñasya svāminam yajño yajes tarpaṇārthāt, devo diver dānārthāt, dyotanārthāt vā, ṛtvijam yaṣṭāram ṛtvig ratau devān yajati vidvāgṃ ṛtūgṃ ṛtupate yajeleti.....tāram hotāram devānām juhote hotetyauhavāham, ratnānām atīṣayena dātāram."

Rk:

"Yuñjanti bradhnām aruṣam
carantam pari tasthuṣaḥ|

Rocante rocanā divi||"⁴⁶

Bhāṣyam:

"Yuñjanti yuñjanti bradhnām mahāntam mandho mahateḥ. 'Asau vā ādītyo bradhna' iti brāhmaṇam. 'Eṣa vā indro ya eṣa tapatīti' ca. Aruṣo'rteḥ dīpto'ruṣa ārocāmāna iti yāsko vadati. Carantam divi pari pari tasthuṣaḥ tasthivāmsaḥ 'ime vai lokāḥ pariṭasthuṣa' iti brāhmaṇam—lokā hy amum yuñjanti rocante rocanā divi

45. *Rg-veda*. I. 1. 1.

46. *Ibid*. I. 6. 1.

indreṇa nihitānindreṇa [vāpyādhitāni] nakṣatrāṇi
rocanta iti."

Rk:

"Sa no vṛṣann amum carum
satrādāvann apāvṛdhi |
Asmabhyam apratiṣkutaḥ" ||⁴⁷

Bhāṣyam:

"Sa naḥ sano varjirṣitaḥ amum carum caruś carateḥ
sthalimeghe paryavasānam satrādavan maḍārasatre
apy adharmahān nāma apāvṛdhi asmabhyam, atra niruk-
tam—apratīṣkuto' pratīṣkutaḥ apratīskhalito veti skautis
takṣaṇārtho ribhira tanūkṛtā iti śākaḥ punar asma-
bhyam iti padam vākyāntaratvāc ca pūrakam sa cātha
nyāyasārvatrika iti "

NOTES.

THE ŚUKLA-YAJUR-VEDA.

I

A History of Sanskrit Literature by A. A. Macdonell
(fourth impression) pp. 177—180.

“The *Samhitā* of the latter (*Śukla*) consists entirely of the verses and formulas to be recited at the sacrifice, and is, therefore, clear (*śukla*), that is to say, separated from the explanatory matter which is collected in the *Brāhmaṇa*. Hence it is called the *White (śukla) Yajur-veda*, while the others, under the general name of *Black (kṛṣṇa) Yajur-veda*, are contrasted with it, as containing both kinds of matter mixed up in the *Samhitā*. The text of the Vājasaneyins has been preserved in two recensions, that of the Mādhyandinas and of the Kāṇvas. These are almost identical in their subject-matter as well as in its arrangement. Their divergences hardly go beyond varieties of reading, which, moreover, appear only in their prose formulas, not in their verses. Agreeing thus closely, they cannot be separated in their origin by any wide interval of time. Their discrepancies probably arose rather from geographical separation, since each has its own peculiarities of spelling. The *White Yajur-veda* in both these recensions has been edited by Prof. Weber (1849-52).

It is divided into forty chapters, called *adhyāyas*. That it originally consisted of the first eighteen alone is indicated by external as well as internal evidence. This is the only portion containing verses and prose formulas (both having the common name of *mantras*) which recur in the *Taittirīya-samhitā*, the sole exceptions being a few passages relating to the horse sacrifice in chapters 22—25. Otherwise the contents of the last twenty-two chapters are found again only in the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Āraṇyaka* belonging to the *Taittirīya-samhitā*. Moreover, it is only the *mantras* of the first eighteen chapters of the

Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā which are quoted and explained word by word in the first nine books of its own Brāhmaṇa, while merely a few *mantras* from the following seventeen chapters are mentioned in that work. According to the further testimony of an ancient index of the *White Yajur-veda*, attributed to Kātyāyana, the ten chapters xxvi—xxxv form a supplement (*khila*).

The internal evidence of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* leads to similar conclusions. The fact that chapters xxvi—xxix contain *mantras* relating to ceremonies dealt with in previous chapters and requiring to be applied to those ceremonies, is a clear indication of their supplementary character. The next ten chapters (xxx—xxxix) are concerned with altogether new ceremonies, such as the human sacrifice, the universal sacrifice, and the sacrifice to the Manes. Lastly, the 40th chapter must be a late addition, for it stands in no direct relation to the ritual and bears the character of an Upaniṣad. Different parts of the *Samhitā*, moreover, furnish some data pointing to different periods of religious and social development. In the 16th chapter the God Rudra is described by a large number of epithets which are subsequently peculiar to Śiva. Two, however, which are particularly significant, Īśāna, "Ruler", and Mahādeva, "Great God"; are absent here, but are added in the 39th chapter. These, as indicating a special worship of the God, represent a later development. Again, the 30th chapter specifies most of the Indian mixed castes, while the 16th mentions only a few of them. Hence, it is likely that at least some which are known to the former chapter did not as yet exist when the latter was composed.

On these grounds four chronological strata may be distinguished in the *White Yajur-veda*. To the fundamental portion, comprising chapters 1—18, the next seven must first have been added, for these two parts deal with the general sacrificial ceremonial. The development of the ritual led to the compilation of the next fourteen chapters, which are concerned with ceremonies already treated (26—29) or entirely new (30—39). The last chapter apparently dates from a period when the excessive growth of ritual practices led to a reaction. It does not supply sacrificial *mantras*, but aims at establishing a mean

between exclusive devotion to and total neglect of the sacrificial ceremonies.

Even the original portion of the *white Yajur-veda* must have assumed shape somewhat later than any of the recensions of the *Black*. For, the systematic and orderly distribution of matter by which the *mantras* are collected in the *Samhitā*, while their dogmatic explanation is entirely relegated to a *Brāhmaṇa*, can hardly be as old as the confused arrangement in which both parts are largely mixed up.

The two most important portions of the *Yajur-vedas* deal with the new and full moon sacrifices as well as the soma sacrifice, on the one hand, and with the construction of the fire-altar on the other. Chapters 1—10 of the *White Yajur-veda* contain the *mantras* for the former, chapters 11—18 those for the latter part of the ceremonial. The corresponding ritual explanations are to be found in books 1—5 and 6—9 respectively of the *Śatapatha Br.* In these fundamental portions even the *Black Yajur-veda* does not intermingle the *mantras* with their explanations. The first book of the *Taitt. Sam.* contains in its first four lessons nothing but the verses and formulas to be recited at the fortnightly and the soma sacrifices; the fourth book, nothing but those employed in the fire-altar ritual. These books follow the same order as, and in fact furnish a parallel recension of the corresponding parts of the *Vājasaneyi-samhitā*. On the other hand, the *Taittirīya-samhitā* contains within itself, but in a different part, the two corresponding *Brāhmaṇas*, which, on the whole, are free from admixture with *mantras*. The fifth book is the *Brāhmaṇa* of the fire ritual, and the sixth is that of the soma sacrifice; but the dogmatic explanation of the new and full moon sacrifice is altogether omitted here, being found in the third book of the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*.

II

Winternitz. *A History of Indian Literature*. English translation. 1927 pp. 170—182.

“The *Vājasaneyi-samhitā* or the *Samhitā* of the ‘*White Yajur-veda*’ takes its name from Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, the chief teacher of this Veda. Of this *Vājasaneyi-sam-*

hitā there are two recensions, that of the Kāṇva and that of the Mādhyandina school, which however, differ very little from each other.

The chief difference between the Saṃhitas of the 'black' and the 'white' Yajur-veda lies in the fact that the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* contains only the Mantras, i.e., the prayers and sacrificial formulæ which the priest has to utter, while the Saṃhitās of the *Black Yajur-veda*, besides the Mantras, contain a presentation of the sacrificial rites belonging to them, as well as discussions on the same. That is to say, in the Saṃhitas of the *Black-Yajur-veda* there is that which is called 'Brāhmaṇa' or 'theological discussion' and which forms the contents of the Brāhmaṇas to be discussed in the next chapter, mixed with the Mantras. Now it is easily conceivable that in the prayer-books intended for the use of the Adhvaryus, the sacrificial rites themselves too were discussed, for these priests had above all to perform the separate sacrificial acts, and the muttering of prayers and formulæ in the closest connection with these acts formed only a small part of their duties. It can, therefore, hardly be doubted that the Saṃhitas of the *Black-Yajur-veda* are older than the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*. Only later systematizers among the Yajur-veda-theologians probably felt the necessity of having a Saṃhitā consisting only of Mantras analogous to the other Vedas, as well as Brāhmaṇa separate from it.

Significant, however, though the differences between the single Saṃhitas of the Yajur-veda may have been for the priests and theologians of ancient India, yet for us they are quite non-essential; and also as to time the various Saṃhitas of the *Black* and *White Yajur-veda* are probably not very distant from each other. If, therefore, in the following lines I give a short description of the contents of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, then this is quite sufficient to give the reader an idea of the contents and character of the Saṃhitas of the Yajur-veda in general.

The *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* consists of 40 sections, of which, however, the last 15 (perhaps even the last 22) are of later date. The first 25 sections contain the prayers for the most

important great sacrifices. The first two sections give the prayers for the New and Full Moon sacrifices (*Darśapūrṇamāsa*) with the oblation to the Fathers (*Piṇḍapitr̥yajña*) belonging to them. In the third section follow the prayers for the daily fire-cult, the laying of the fire, and the fire sacrifices which have to be offered every morning and evening (*Agnihotra*) and the Sacrifices of the Seasons (*Cāturmāsya*) which take place every four months. The prayers for the Soma sacrifice in general (the sacrifices of the ancient Indians fall into two great subdivisions: *food sacrifices*—in which principally milk, butter, cake, pulp and grain were offered, and *soma sacrifices*—whose chief component part is the somalibations. The separate sacrifices may be classed under these two chief groups. The *animal sacrifice* is connected with sacrifices of the first division, as well as those of the second. In connection with every kind of sacrifice is the *fire-cult*, which is, to a certain extent, the preliminary of every kind of worship of the Gods), including the animal sacrifice belonging to it, are to be found in sections iv to viii. Among the Soma-sacrifices there are such as last *one* day, and such as last several days. To the one-day sacrifices belongs the Vājapeya or 'Drink of Strength', a sacrifice offered originally probably only by warriors and kings, which was connected with a chariot-race, and at which, besides Soma, brandy (*surā*) also was offered, a drink otherwise proscribed according to Brahmanical law (according to the law books, the drinking of brandy is as great a sin as the murder of a Brahman). Intended exclusively for kings is the 'King's inauguration sacrifice', or Rājasūya, a sacrificial feast connected with many a popular usage: a symbolical military expedition, a play at dice, and all sorts of magic rites. The prayers for these two kinds of Soma sacrifices are contained in sections ix and x. Then in sections xi to xviii follow the numerous prayers and sacrificial formulæ for the Agnicayana or the 'Building of the Fire Altar', a ceremony which extends over a whole year, and to which a deep mystical-symbolical meaning is ascribed in the Brāhmaṇas. The fire-altar is named no other than 'Agni' and is looked upon throughout as identical with the fire-god. It is built of 10,800

bricks, in the form of a large bird with outspread wings. In the lowest stratum of the altar the heads of five sacrificial animals are immured, and the bodies of the animals are thrown into the water out of which the clay for the manufacture of the bricks and the fire-pan is taken. The modelling and baking of the fire-pan and the separate bricks, many of which have special names and a symbolical significance of their own, is executed with much ceremoniousness accompanied by the continuous recitation of spells and prayer-formulæ. The following sections xix. to xxi. give the prayers for the Sautrāmaṇi celebration, a remarkable sacrificial ceremony at which again, instead of the drink of Soma, brandy is used and sacrificed to the Aśvins, to the goddess Sarasvatī and to Indra. The ceremony is recommended for one who has drunk too much Soma or with whom the Soma does not agree—and that may have been its original purpose—but also for a Brahman who desires success for himself, for a banished king who desires to regain his throne, for a warrior who desires victory, and for a Vaiśya who wishes to attain great riches. Many of the prayers belonging to this sacrifice refer to the legend of Indra, who was indisposed through intoxication from excessive enjoyment of Soma and had to be cured by the Aśvins and by Sarasvatī. Finally, sections xxii. to xxv., with which the old part of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* ends, contain the prayers for the great Horse-sacrifice (*Aśva-medha*), which only a powerful king, a mighty conqueror or 'world-ruler', might offer. Old legends and epic poems tell of primeval kings, who performed this sacrifice, and it is looked upon as the highest glory of a ruler, if it can be said of him: 'He offered the Horse-sacrifice'. The purpose of this great sacrifice is expressed very beautifully in the prayer *Vāj. Saṃ.* xxii. 22.

'Oh Brahman ? May in this kingdom the Brahmin be born who shines through sacred knowledge ! May the warrior who is a hero, a skilful shot, a good marksman, and a powerful chariot-fighter, be born here ! Also the cow which yields good milk, the ox which draws well, the swift horse, the good housewife ! May to this sacrificer a hero-son be born who is victorious, a mighty chariot-fighter and eloquent in the assembly ! May

Parjanya send us rain according to our desire ! May our fruit-bearing plants ripen ! May happiness and prosperity fall to our share !'

That the last fifteen sections are of later origin is not to be doubted. Sections xxvi. to xxxv. are designated even by Indian tradition itself as *Khilas*, *i.e.*, 'appendices', 'supplements'. Actually xxvi. to xxix. contain only appendices to the prayers of the preceding sections. Section xxx. is shown to be an addition even though the fact that it contains no prayers, but only an enumeration of the people who are to be sacrificed at the *Puruṣa-medha* or 'Human sacrifice' to the most diverse divine beings or to beings and powers for the moment elevated to divinity. No less than one hundred and eighty-four persons are to be slaughtered at this *Puruṣa-medha*, there being offered, to give only a few examples, 'to Priestly Dignity a Brahmin, to Royal Dignity a warrior, to the Maruts a Vaiśya, to Asceticism a Śūdra, to Darkness a thief, to Hell a murderer, to Evil a eunuch . . . , to Lust a harlot, to Noise a singer, to Dancing a bard, to Singing an actor . . . , to Death a hunter . . . , to the Dice a gambler . . . , to Sleep a blind man, to Injustice a deaf man . . . , to Lustre a fire-lighter . . . , to Sacrifice a washer woman, to Desire a female dyer . . . , to Yama a barren woman . . . , to the Joy of Festival a lute-player, to Cry a flute-player . . . , to Earth a cripple . . . , to Heaven a bald-headed man', and so on. Surely it is hardly conceivable that all these classes of people should have been brought together and killed. We have to deal here probably only with a symbolical rite representing a kind of 'human sacrifice' by which even the great horse-sacrifice was to be outdone, but which probably existed only as part of sacrificial mysticism and theory, and in reality hardly occurred (so also Oldenburg, *Religion des Veda*, 2nd Ed., pp. 362f. and Keith. *HOS.*, Vol. 18, pp. cxxxviii, who says: 'There can be no doubt that the ritual is a mere priestly invention to fill up the apparent gap in the sacrificial system which provided no place for man'. Hillebrandt-*Rituallitteratur*, *Grundriss* iii, 2, pp. 153,—however, considers the *Puruṣa-medha* to be a real human sacrifice. There

can be no doubt that human sacrifices occurred in ancient India, though not in the Brahmanical cult-only survivals of it can be traced in the rite of building the brick-altar for the fire, and in the Śunaśśepa legend, just as cruel human sacrifices occurred even in modern times among certain sects. But this does not prove that the Puruṣa-medha was such a sacrifice).

With this agrees also the fact that section xxxi. contains a version of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, known to us from the *Rg-veda*, i.e. of the hymn Rv. x. 90, in which the origin of the world through the sacrificing of the Puruṣa and the identification of the world with the Puruṣa are taught, Puruṣa, 'Man', being conceived as the Highest Being,—and that this section, which the Brahman is to recite at the Puruṣa-medha, is also called an Upaniṣad, i.e. a secret doctrine. Section xxxii, too, is in form and contents nothing but an Upaniṣad. The Creator Prajāpati is here identified with the Puruṣa and the Brahman. The first six verses of section xxxiv. are similarly counted amongst the Upaniṣads, with the title *Śiva-saṅkalpoṇiṣad* (*Vāj. Sam.* 34, 1—6, is found as an Upaniṣad in the *Oupnekhat* of Duperron, and translated by *Deussen*, *Sechzig des Veda*, p. 837). The prayers of sections xxxii. to xxxiv. are to be employed at the so-called Sarva-medha or 'All-sacrifice'. This is the highest sacrifice which exists at all, and which ends with the sacrificer's presenting the whole of his possessions to the priests as sacrificial fee and then retiring as a hermit into the forest there to spend the rest of his days. Section xxxv. contains a few funeral verses, which are mostly taken from the *Rg-veda*. Sections xxxvi. to xxxix. contain the prayers for the ceremony called Pravargya, at which a cauldron is made red-hot on the sacrificial fire, to represent symbolically the sun; in this cauldron milk is then boiled and offered to the Aśvins. The whole celebration is regarded as a great mystery. At the end of it the sacrificial utensils are so arranged that they represent a man: the milk-pots are the head, on which a tuft of sacred grass represents the hair; two milking-pails represent the ears, two little gold leaves the eyes, two cups the heels, the flour sprinkled over the whole the marrow, a mixture of milk and honey the

blood, and so on. The prayers and formulæ naturally correspond with the mysterious ceremonies (for details about all these sacrifices and festivals see Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur* [Gruhdriß, iii, 2] pp. 97-166; H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 2nd Ed., pp. 437-474; E. Hardy, *Die vedisch-brahmanische periode der Religion des älten Indiens*, Munster i. w., 1893, pp. 154 ff.; and Keith, HOS., Vol. 18 pp. ciii ff.). The xī. and last section of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* again contains an Upaniṣad, the very important *Īśa-Upaniṣad*, occurring in all Upaniṣad collections, to which we shall have to refer in the chapter on the Upaniṣads.

If it is already clear from the contents of the last sections that they are of a later date, it is confirmed still more by the fact that the prayers contained in the Saṃhitas of the *Black Yajur-veda* only correspond to those of the first half of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* (only the first 18 Adhyāyas of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* are completely given, word for word, and explained, in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* of the *White Yajur-veda*).

Now as regards the prayers and sacrificial formulæ themselves, which form the principal contents of the *Yajur-veda-saṃhitas*, they consist partly of verses (ꣳc), partly of prose sentences. It is the latter which are called 'Yajus', and from which the *Yajur-veda* takes its name. The prose of these prayers is occasionally rhythmical and here and there even rises to poetical flight (see Keith, HOS., Vol. 18. pp. cxi ff., and H. Oldenberg, *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa* [AGGW. N. F., Bd. 16, Berlin, 1917], pp. 2 ff. On the language of the Yajus). The verses which occur are mostly found also in the *Rg-veda-saṃhitā*. The various readings, however, which the *Yajur-veda* often presents, are not indeed more ancient than the text found in the *Rg-veda*, but they are mostly intentional alterations which were made in the verses, in order to bring them more into line with the sacrificial acts. Only rarely were whole hymns of the *Rg-veda* included in the *Yajur-veda-saṃhitas*; mostly they are only single verses, torn from their context, which just appeared suitable to some sacrificial ceremony or other, and were therefore included in the *Veda* of prayers. Therefore these verses are of less interest to us.

The characteristic element of the Yajur-veda is the prose formulae and prayers (we also make no account here of the Brāhmaṇa-like theological explanations which the Saṃhitas of the *Black Yajur-veda* contain besides the prayers and formulae. What is said in the following chapter about the Brāhmaṇas is applicable to these too).

The simplest prayer that we can imagine is the dedication of a sacrificial gift with the mere utterance of the name of the deity to which it is offered. Formulae of this kind are very numerous in the Yajur-veda. 'Thee for Agni', 'thee for Indra', or 'this for Agni', or also 'for Agni Hail', 'for Indra Hail' etc—with such words the gift is laid down or thrown into the sacred fire. A shorter and simpler song of praise to a god can hardly be imagined than the words with which every morning and every evening the fire-sacrifice consisting of milk (*Agnihotra*) is offered: 'Agni is Light, Light is Agni, Hail' (in the evening), and 'Sūrya is Light, Light is Sūrya, Hail' (in the morning). In equally brief words the purpose of a sacred act is often indicated, when, for instance, the sacrificial priest cuts off the branch with which the calves are driven from the cows, and says at the same time: 'Thee for juice, thee for strength' or the utensil which served for a sacred act is briefly named and a wish attached to it, when, for instance, the piece of wood with which the sacrificial fire is to be kindled, is dedicated with the words: 'This, Agni, is thy igniter; through it mayest Thou grow and thrive. May we also grow and thrive'. If one apprehends evil or bad magic from an object used at the sacrifice, a short spell serves to avert it. The halter with which the sacrificial animal is bound to the stake, is addressed thus: 'Become no snake, become no viper'. The razor with which the sacrificer, when he is consecrated for the sacrifice, has his beard shaved, is thus addressed by the priest: 'O Knife, do not injure him'. At the consecration of a king, the king looks down upon the ground and prays: 'Mother Earth, mayest Thou not injure me, nor I thee'.

The deities are not always invoked or praised in these sacrifice-formulae, but in the most diverse ways sacrificial utensils and sacrificial acts are brought into relation to deities

Thus, for example, the priest binds with a rope the sacrificer's wife who takes part in the sacrifice, saying: 'A girdle thou art for Aditi'. At the consecration for the Soma-sacrifice the sacrificer binds himself with a girdle of hemp and reed grass with the words: 'Thou art the strength of the Aṅgiras, soft as wool; lend me strength'. Then he makes a knot in his undergarment and says: 'The knot of the Soma art thou'. Hereupon he enwraps his head in his turban (or in his upper garment) muttering 'Thou art Viṣṇu's protection, the protection of the sacrificer'. To the horn of a black-antelope, which he wraps up in the hem of his garment he says: 'Thou art Indra's womb'. The priest takes the sacrificial food from the car with the words: 'Thou art the body of Agni, thee for Viṣṇu. Thou art the body of the Soma, thee for Viṣṇu'. When the priest takes any sacrificial utensil into his hand, he does it with the oft-recurring formula: 'At the God Savitar's instigation I take thee with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan'.

The sacred sacrificial fire must be twirled in the ancient manner with the fire-drill (this consists of the two 'araṇis' or friction-sticks, of which the one is, a small board, the other a pointed stick which is turned round in the small board until a flame results. This is the fire-producing implement still used at the present day by many primitive peoples, e.g., the Eskimos,—doubtless one of the most primitive utensils of mankind.); and the producing of the fire is already in the *Rg-veda* compared with the process of procreation, the lower small board being regarded as the mother, and the upper friction stick as the father of the child Agni (the fire), (the Malays of Indonesia still to-day call the small wooden board in which the fire drill is turned, 'mother', or 'woman', while the twirling-stick itself is called 'man'). The ancient Arabs, too, had two sticks for producing fire by friction, one of which was conceived as female, and the other as male). Thus are explained the formulae with which the fire twirling is performed at the Soma-sacrifice, in which the two friction-sticks are addressed as the pair of lovers, Purūravas and Urvaśī already known to us, who bring forth Ayu. The priest takes

the lower friction stick with the words : ' Thou art the birth-place of Agni ', lays two blades of sacred grass upon it, and says : ' You are the two testicles '. Then he lays the small board down with the words . ' Thou art Urvaśī ', touches the frying pan with the twirling-stick saying : ' Thou art Ayu ', and with the words : ' Thou art Purūravas ', places the twirling-stick into the lower friction-stick. Thereupon he twirls with the formula : ' I twirl thee with the Gāyatrī metre. I twirl thee with the Triṣṭubh metre, I twirl thee with the Jagatī metre ' (*Vāj.* v. 2. *Śatapatha. Br.* iii, 4, 1. 20 ff. Cf. *Śatapatha. Br.* viii, 5, 2, 1 ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, 8, 1863, pp. 8 ff., 28., and above pp. 61 f.).

Formula-like turns of this kind, which often convey little or no meaning, are extremely numerous in the Yajur-veda. Comparatively rarely do we come across long prose prayers, in which the sacrificer expresses his desires to the deity in simple words, as in the above-quoted beautiful prayer, which was spoken at the horse-sacrifice. More frequent are the formula-like prayers, which, however, still convey a reasonable meaning, as the following :

' Thou, Agni, art the protector of bodies ; protect my body ! Thou, Agni, art the giver of life ; give me life ! Thou, Agni, art the giver of strength ; give me strength ! Thou, Agni, make complete that which is incomplete in my body !

(*Vāj.* iii. 17.)

' May life prosper through the sacrifice ! May breath prosper through the sacrifice ! May the eye prosper through the sacrifice ! May the back prosper through the sacrifice ! May the sacrifice prosper through the sacrifice !'

(*Vāj.* ix. 21).

But still more frequently we find endless formulae, the meaning of which is very doubtful, for example :

' Agni has gained breath with the mono-syllable ; may I gain it ! The Aśvins have gained the two-footed people with the two syllabic ; may I gain them ! Viṣṇu has gained the three worlds with the three-syllabic ; may I gain them ! Soma has

gained the four-footed cattle with the four syllabic ; may I gain them ! Pūṣan has gained the five regions of the world with the five syllabic ; may I gain them ! Savitar has gained the six seasons with the six-syllabic ; may I gain them ! The Marūts have gained the seven tamed animals with the seven-syllabic ; may I gain them ! Bṛhaspati has gained the Gāyatrī with the eight-syllabic ; may I gain it ! * * * Aditi has gained the sixteen-fold Stoma with the sixteen syllabic ; may I gain it ! Prajāpati has gained the seventeen-fold Stoma with the seventeen syllabic ; may I gain it !

(*Vāj.* ix. 31-34).

However, one of the chief causes of the fact that these prayers and sacrifice-formulae often appear to us to be nothing but senseless conglomerations of words, is the identification and combination of things which have nothing at all to do with each other, so very popular in the Yajur-veda. For instance, a cooking-pot is placed on the fire with the words :

‘Thou art the sky, thou art the earth, thou art the cauldron of Mātariśvan.’

(*Vāj.* I. 2).

Or the cow with which the Soma is bought, is addressed by the priest in the words :

‘Thou art thought, thou art mind, thou art intelligence, thou art the priestly fee, thou art suitable for mastery, thou art suitable for the sacrifice, thou art the double-headed Aditi’.

(*Vāj.* IV. 19).

To the fire which is carried about in the pan at the building of the fire-altar the following prayer is addressed :

‘Thou art the beautiful-winged bird, the song of praise Trivṛt is thy head, the Gāyatra melody thine eye, the two melodies Bṛhat and Rathantara are thy wings, the song of praise is thy soul, the metres are thy limbs, the Yajur-formulae thy name, the Vāmadevya-Melody thy body, the Yajñā-yajñiya-melody thy tail, the fire-hearths are thy hoofs ; thou art the beautiful-winged bird, go to heaven, fly to the light !’.

(*Vāj.* XII. 4).

Then the priest takes three steps with the fire-pan, and says :

Thou art the rival-slaying stride of Viṣṇu, mount the Gāyatrī metre, stride along the earth ! Thou art the foe-slaying stride of Viṣṇu ; mount the Triṣṭubh metre, stride along the air ! Thou art the hater-slaying stride of Viṣṇu ; mount the Jagatī metre, stride along the sky ! Thou art the hostile slaying stride of Viṣṇu ; mount the Anuṣṭubh metre, stride along the regions of the world !'.

(*Vāj.* XII. 5).

With reference to this kind of prayer Leopold Von Schroeder says :

'We may indeed often doubt whether these are the productions of intelligent people, and in this connection it is very interesting to observe that these bare and monotonous variations of one and the same idea are particularly characteristic of the writings of persons in the stage of *imbecility*'. He then gives a few examples of notes written down by insane persons which have been preserved by psychiaters, and these do indeed show a striking similarity with many of the prayers of the Yajur-veda (*L. V. Schroeder. ILC.*, pp. 113 f.). We must not forget that here we are not dealing with very ancient popular spells, as we find them in the *Atharva-veda* and in some cases even still in the Yajur-veda, but with the fabrications of priests who had to furnish the countless sacrificial rites subtilised by themselves with equally countless spells and formulae.

Some prayer-formulae of the Yajur-veda are indeed nothing but magic spells in prose. Even exorcisms and curses, quite similar to those with which we have become acquainted in the *Atharva-veda*, confront us also among the prayers of the Yajur-veda. For there exist also sacrificial acts by which one can injure an enemy. Thus the priest says to the yoke of the car on which the sacrificial utensils are kept: 'A yoke thou art, injure the injurer, injure him who injures us, injure him whom we injure' (*Vāj.* i. 8)".

III

Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.*

1859. pp. 349—351.

“The text of this work has been edited by Professor Weber, and we can likewise avail ourselves of several essays on this branch of Vedic literature, published from time to time by that industrious scholar. According to Indian traditions, Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the founder of the new Carana of the Vājasaneyins is himself, if not the author, at least the first who proclaimed the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyins. We can see clearly that the composition of both the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa was guided by the same spirit, and it is not at all unlikely that in this, the most modern of all Vedas, the final arrangement of the Saṃhitā may have been contemporaneous with, or even later than, the composition of the Brāhmaṇa.

First of all, it ought to be remarked that the story which has been preserved by tradition of the schism introduced by Yājñavalkya among the followers of adhvaryu or Yajur-veda is confirmed by internal evidence. The general name of the ancient Śākhas, of the Yajur-veda is Caraka, and the Taittirīyas, therefore, together with the Kaṭhas, and others are called by a general name, Caraka-śākhas. This name Caraka is used in one of the Khilas of the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā as a term of reproach. In the 30th Adhyāya a list of people is given who are to be sacrificed at the Puruṣa-medha, and among them we find the Carakācārya, the teacher of the Carakas, as the proper victim to be offered to Duṣkṛta or Sin. This passage, together with similar hostile expressions in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, were evidently dictated by a feeling of animosity against the ancient schools of the Ahvaryus, whose sacred text we possess in the Taittirīya-veda, and from whom Yājñavalkya seceded in order to become himself the founder of the new Caranas of the Vājasaneyins.

If we compare the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa of Vājasaneyins with those of the Carakas, we see that the order of the sacrifices is on the whole the same, and that the chief difference

between the two consists in the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, which is carried out more strictly by Yājñavalkya than in the ancient text of the Taittirīyas. This was most likely the reason why the text of Yājñavalkya was called *Śukla-yajur-veda*, which is generally translated by the white Yajur-veda. But some commentators explain Śukla more correctly by śuddha, and translate it by 'cleared', because in this new text the Mantras had been cleared and separated from the Brāhmaṇas, and thus the whole had been rendered more lucid and intelligible. In opposition to this they suppose that the old text was called Kṛṣṇa or dark, because in it the verses and rules are mixed together, and less intelligible; or because, as Vidyāranya says, it contains the rules of the Hotṛ as well as of the Adhvaryu priests, and thus bewildered the mind of the student."

"In the new code of the Vājasaneyins the most important part was nevertheless the Brāhmaṇa, the Saṃhitā being a mere collection of verses, extracted and collected for the convenience of the officiating priest".

IV

Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.*

1859. pp. 356—360.

"The Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā may be divided into different sections. The first section comprises the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa, etc., i—iii.; the second the Soma sacrifices, iv—x.; the third the Agnicayanas, xi—xviii.

These eighteen Adhyāyas, which correspond to the Taittirīya-saṃhitā, are explained in the first nine books of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and the first eighteen chapters of Kātyāyana's Sūtras. They form, no doubt, the most important part of the Adhvaryu-veda, but there is no evidence to show that they ever existed in a separate form. It has been well remarked, however, by the editor of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, that the first nine books consist altogether of sixty Adhyāyas, and that the name of Saṣṭhi-patha, the Sixty Paths, which is mentioned in the Vārttika to Pāṇ. iv. 2. 60., may refer to this portion, whereas the whole Brāhmaṇa, consisting of one

hundred Adhyāyas, received the title of Śatapatha, the Hundred Paths.

The Sautrāmaṇi ceremony, which begins with the 19th Adhyāya, has nothing corresponding to it in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā, but, like the following sacrifices, it has been incorporated in the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa. There is a difference also in the treatment which this sacrifice receives in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Adhyāyas xix. and xx. are indeed explained there, in the 12th book, but they do not receive the same careful explanation which was given to the preceding sacrifices. The last Adhyāya, containing verses of the Hotṛ, is not explained at all. Kātyāyana treats these three Adhyāyas in the 19th book of his Sūtras.

The Aśva-medha, which fills Books xxii-xxv. of the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, is but partially contained in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā; and the Śatapatha also, though it devotes to this ceremony a considerable part of the 13th book, treats it in a much more superficial manner than the former sacrifices. Kātyāyana explains it in his 20th book.

The Adhyāyas, which follow the Aśva-medha, are distinctly called Khilas or supplements by Kātyāyana. They are relegated to the Brāhmaṇa by the Taittirīyas, and explained with less detail in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Adhyāyas xxvi-xxix. contain some hymns belonging to sacrifices previously explained, and they are passed over entirely by the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and by Kātyāyana. Adhyāyas xxx. and xxxi. contain the Puruṣa-medha, which the Taittirīyas, treat in their Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa devotes but a short space to it in its 13th book, and Kātyāyana explains Adhyāya xxxi. in his 21st book.

The ceremonies comprised in the three following Adhyāyas, xxxii. to xxxiv, Sarva-medha and Brahma-yajña, are passed over by the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and Kātyāyana. The Taittirīyas allow them no place in their Brāhmaṇa, but include them in their Āraṇyaka.

The Pitṛ-medha which follows in the xxxvth Adhyāya, finds its place in the Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīyas. The Śata-

patha and Kātyāyana explain it, the former in the 13th, the latter in the 21st book.

The Śukriya portion of the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, xxxvi.—xl., is excluded from the Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīyas, and treated in their Āraṇyaka. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa explains three of these Adhyāyas, xxxvii.-xxxix., in full detail in its 17th Kāṇḍa, and Kātyāyana devotes to them the Sūtras of his last book.

Those who only take into account the general object of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, have called it a running commentary on the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā. But this applies strictly to the first nine books only, and with the tenth book the Brāhmaṇa assumes a new and more independent character. The tenth book is called the Agni-rahasyam, the mystery of the fire, and it refers to no particular portion of the Saṃhitā, but enlarges on the ceremonies which have been described in the four preceding books. Towards the end (x. 4. 6), it contains two chapters, which, in the Kāṇva-śākhā, form the beginning of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad, and are there followed by the Madhu-kāṇḍa, the Yājñavalkīya-kāṇḍa of the 14th book of the Mādhyandina-śākhā. The 10th book or Agni-rahasyam closes with its own genealogy or Vanśa.

With the 11th book begins, according to Sāyaṇa, the second part of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. It is called Aṣṭādhyāyī, and gives additional information on all the sacrifices mentioned before, beginning with the Agnyādhāna.

The 12th book, which is called Sautrāmaṇi, treats of prāyaścitta, or penance in general, and it is only in its last portion that it refers to the text of the Saṃhitā, and to that ceremony in particular from which it has derived its name. Besides this name of Sautrāmaṇi, the 12th book is also known by the name of Madhyama or the middle book, and this title can only be explained if we begin the second part of the Śatapatha, not, as Sāyaṇa suggests, with the 11th, but with the 10th book.

The 13th book is chiefly concerned with the Aśva-medha, and its first three Adhyāyas may again be considered as a kind

of commentary on the Saṃhitā. Towards the end some sacrifices, beginning with the Puruṣa-medha, which the Saṃhitā treats in its Khila portion, are explained, but other ceremonies also are mentioned, for which there is no precedent in the Saṃhitā. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka, the last book of the Śatapatha, contains in its first three Adhyāyas, a close commentary on the Pravargya of the Saṃhitā, but becomes quite independent afterwards. Its object is no longer the sacrifice, but the knowledge of Brahman, without any particular reference, however, to the last Adhyāya of the Saṃhitā, which, as we saw, was equally devoted to the doctrine of the Upaniṣads.

It is clear, therefore, that the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was not simply a running commentary on the Saṃhitā; nay there is nothing to prove that the hymn-book of the Vājasaneyins existed previous to their Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa may have been edited by Yājñavalkya, but its component parts, like the component parts of the other Brāhmaṇas, must have been growing up during a long period of time in different localities before they were collected".

V

THE ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA.

A. A. Macdonell. *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*

(forth impression) pp. 212—215.

"The ritual explanation of the *White Yajur-veda* is to be found in extraordinary fulness in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the 'Brāhmaṇa of the hundred paths', so called because it consists of one hundred lectures (adhyāya). This work is, next to the *Ṛg-veda*, the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature. Its text has come down in two recensions, those of the Mādhyandina school, edited by Professor Weber, and of the Kāṇva school, which is in process of being edited by Professor Eggeling. The Mādhyandina recension consists of fourteen books, while the Kāṇva has seventeen. The first nine of the former, corresponding to the original eighteen books of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, doubtless form the oldest part. The fact that book xii. is called *madhyama*, or 'middle one', shows

that the last five books (or possibly only x-xiii) were at one time regarded as a separate part of the Brāhmaṇa. Book x. treats of the mystery of the fire altar (*agnirahasya*), xi. is a sort of recapitulation of the preceding ritual, while xii., and xiii., deal with various supplementary matters. The last book forms the Āraṇyaka, the six concluding chapters of which are the *Bṛhad-āraṇyakoṇiṣad*.

Books vi—x of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* occupy a peculiar position. Treating of the construction of the fire-altar, they recognise the teaching of Śaṇḍilya as their highest authority, Yājñavalkya not even being mentioned ; while the peoples who are named the Gāndhāras, Sālvas, Kekayas, belong to the north-west. In the other books Yājñavalkya is the highest authority, while hardly any but Eastern peoples, or those of the middle of Hindustan, the Kuru-Pāñcālas, Kosalas, Videhas, Śṛṅjayas, are named. That the original authorship of the five Śaṇḍilya books was different from that of the others is indicated by a number of linguistic differences, which the hand of a later editor failed to remove. Thus the use of the perfect as narrative tense is unknown to the Śaṇḍilya books (as well as to xiii).

The geographical data of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* point to the land of the Kuru-Pāñcālas being still the centre of Brahmanical culture. Janamejaya is here celebrated as a king of the Kurus, and the most renowned Brahmanical teacher of the age. Āruṇi, is expressly stated to have been a Pāñcāla. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Brahmanical system had by this time spread to the countries to the east of Madhyadeśa, to Kosala, with its capital, Ayodhyā (Oudh), and Videha (Tirhut or Northern Behar), with its capital, Mithilā. The court of King Janaka of Videha was thronged with Brahmans from the Kuru-Pāñcāla country. The tournaments of argument which were here held from a prominent feature in the later books of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*. The hero of these is Yājñavalkya, who, himself a pupil of Āruṇi, is regarded as the chief spiritual authority in the Brāhmaṇa (excepting Books vi—x). Certain passages of the Brāhmaṇa render it highly probable, that

Yājñavalkya was a native of Videha. The fact that its leading authority, who thus appears to have belonged to this Eastern country, is represented as vanquishing the most distinguished teachers of the west in argument, points to the redaction of the *White Yajur-veda* having taken place in this eastern region.

The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* contains reminiscences of the days when the country of Videha was not as yet Brahmanised. Thus Book i. relates a legend in which three stages in the eastward migration of the Aryans can be clearly distinguished. Māṭhava the king of Videha (the older form of Videha), whose family priest was Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, was at one time on the Sarasvatī. Agni-Vaiśvānara (here typical of Brahmanical culture) thence went burning along this earth towards the east, followed by Māṭhava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadānīra (probably the modern Gandak; a tributary running into the Ganges near Patna), which flows from the northern mountain, and which he did not burn over. This river Brahmins did not cross in former times, thinking 'it has not been burnt over by Agni-Vaiśvānara'. At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated and marshy, but now many Brahmins are there, and it is highly cultivated, for the Brahmins have caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Māṭhava the Videha then said to Agni 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this river be thy abode', he replied. Even now, the writer adds, this river forms the boundary between the Kosalas (Oudh) and the Videhas (Tirhut).

The Vājasaneyi school of the *White Yajur-veda* evidently felt a sense of the superiority of their sacrificial lore, which grew up in these eastern countries. Blame is frequently expressed in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* of the Adhvaryu priests of the Caraka school."

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SUKLA-YAJUR-VEDA-PRĀTISĀKHYA.

Description of the Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya—The Kātyāyana's *Sukla-yajurveda-prātiśākhya* which is specially intended for the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* is, in the form of sūtras or aphorisms, and the nature of the work and the method of description of the subject-matter lead us to think that it is a work belonging to the later sūtra period. It is divided into eight chapters, containing 169, 65, 152, 197, 46, 31, 12 and 55 sūtras respectively. In the eighth chapter there are 13 lines which resemble the lines of anuṣṭup metre. Among them with the exception of four, all seem to be professedly written in the anuṣṭup metre. In one of those places, before the verse, the sentence “*athāpi bhavati*” is seen, and it will not be out of place to infer that it shows the following verse to be an extract from other early authors in the same field.

Editions of the Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya—This *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* was published with Uvvaṭa's bhāṣya or commentary, at Benares in 1888 and at Calcutta in 1893. The former publication

Note.—The references to the sūtras of the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* are given here according to the Calcutta edition (1893) of the book edited by Jivānandavidyāsāgara, though it contains errors.

is edited by Paṇḍit Yugalakiśora Sarman, who is a great Vedic scholar of the Benares Sanskrit College, and in his edition he has appended the *pariśiṣṭa* works, the *Pratijñā*, the *Bhāṣika*, the *Ṛgyajūṃṣi*, the *Anuvāka*, and the *Caranavyūha*, which are very essential for a student of *Prātiśākhya*. The second edition is a true copy of the text and the commentary of the former, and it is published under the editorship of Paṇḍitakulapati (Jīvānanda-vidyāsāgara-bhaṭṭācārya) who is well-known to the Sanskrit world by his vast and rather hasty publications, and who was occupying the chair of Superintendent, Free Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Both the editions are printed some 35 years ago, and do not contain indices or appendices which are indispensable to modern scholars for the purpose of reference, but have some misreadings and errors in the commentary. Hence it is very necessary to bring out a new critical edition of the work from the manuscripts with available commentaries and all up-to-date information.

Scope of the work—This *Prātiśākhya* gives the rules for the proper pronunciation of the *White Yajur-vedic* language and also records the peculiarities in recitation of certain teachers and their schools or *śākhās*. In some places where these *śākhās* had become extinct, we find the names of their founders, preserved as authorities on matters connected with the recitation of certain letters or *sandhis*. So this *Prātiśākhya* can be assumed as a representative work of the *Śukla-yajur-vedic*

phonetics. It is directly related to the *Samhitā*, *Paḍa*, and *Krama* texts of the *Śukla-yajur-veda* and supplies a systematic and methodically arranged account of euphonic changes and combinations, besides occasionally adding phonological discussions with a view to secure the proper recitation of the sacred text. This *Prātiśākhya* is generally noted as anterior to the grammarian *Pāṇini*, who, in several places shows considerable acquaintance with this work, and posterior to the *Ṛk* and *Taittirīa* *Prātiśākhyas*.

The Sūtrapāṭha—

“*Alpākṣaram asandigdham*
sāravād viśvatomukham. |
Astobhyam anavadyam ca
sūtram sūtravido viduḥ. |”

This definition of *sūtra* by later authors is not at all applicable to the present text because the violation of the above rule is to be seen in many places in the work. I shall illustrate this by the following instances:

(1) The author of the *Prātiśākhya* has ¹devoted four *sūtras* simply to state the fact, that the *praṇava* (Om) and the word ‘*atha*’ are to be used at the beginning of ‘*svādhyāya*’ and ‘*bhāṣya*’ respectively. (2) In another ²*sūtra* he states that in one *pāda* there will be one, two, three, four or many words. As the fact is so obvious its special mention in one particular *sūtra* seems to be unneces-

1. Vide *Sūtras* I. 16—19.

2. Vide *Sūtra* I. 157.

sary. (3) In one place the author has devoted two sūtras to describe, that, holy men must choose a holy place for the study of the Veda, and the same matter is ³repeated in another place also. (4) It has to be observed that the author has not been careful to explain the sūtras according to their importance. For, there are instances where sūtras requiring good annotations are disposed of briefly with a few words of comment, and others which are really not worth much expansion but to which the author has devoted long drawn out sentences of annotation. (5) Some of the sūtras seem to be so difficult that they do not yield a meaning in keeping with the context. For example:

(1) *Yat tan na* (I. 5).

(2) *San̄karopa*⁴ (I. 8).

(3) *Śārīrāt* (I. 12).

(4) *Śarīram* (I. 13).

(5) *Śārīre* (I. 14).

(6) *Dvau* (I. 129).

The commentator has taken much pains to create some meaning not unsuited to the context of such sūtras.

Some incongruities in the present Sūtrapāṭha—
In the present regular order of the sūtra-work many incongruities are to be found, in some places.

1. In the first chapter without the specification of 'varṇa-samāmnāya' the author says "*Upa-*

3. Vide Sūtra I. 20, 21 and VIII. 17, 18.

4. According to some manuscripts, this sūtra is also read as "*San̄karopahitah*" which is only a correct one.

diṣṭā varṇāḥ” (I. 34). This naturally leads us to think that the subject is not going to be dealt with any more. On the other hand the same subject is dealt with elaborately in a later chapter, namely, the eighth. The commentator Uvvaṭa also is silent about this incongruity. So one can infer that the natural and original position of the present eighth chapter which treats of the classification of letters, must have been at the beginning of the work, and the present arrangement is due to early misplacement blindly followed by copyists and scholars who must have been conversant with and handled this work even before the time of Uvvaṭa. Anantadevayājñika, the author of the *Pratijñā-sūtrapariśiṣṭabhāṣya*, has noticed this incongruity and says as follows:

“*Yad āhuḥ prathamādhyāye ‘Upadiṣṭā varṇāḥ’ (I. 34) iti, aṣṭamādhyāye ‘Athāto varṇa-samāmnāyaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ’ (VIII.) iti.*”

Besides this, in some other places, the author of the commentary, Uvvaṭa, has remarked about the breach in the original order of the sūtra-work. (1) Commenting on the sūtra IV. 120 he observes:

“*Kecid atra tṛtīyam ‘Avasāne ca’ (IV. 195) ity etatsūtram paṭhanti. So’papāṭhaḥ. Yataḥ ‘Prathamottamāḥ padāntīyāḥ’ (I. 85) ity adhastād uk-tam.*”

(2) In the same manner commenting on the sūtra IV. 127 he remarks:

“*Eke etatsūtram paṭhanti. So’papāṭhaḥ, pūr-venāiva siddhatvāt.*”

2. After the sūtra “*Atha vyañjanāni*” (VIII. 4), without the specification of the first twenty-five consonants to which the name *sparsa* is given, the sūtra “*Iti sparśāḥ*” (VIII. 5) is to be seen as the next one. In the commentary of the former sūtra the following five sentences are found:

- (i) *Kiti khiti giti ghiti niti karagaḥ.*
- (ii) *Citi chiti jiti jhiti ñiti cavargaḥ.*
- (iii) *Ṭiti ṭhiti ḍiti ḍhiti niti ṭavargaḥ.*
- (iv) *Titi thiti diti dhiti niti tavargaḥ.*
- (v) *Piti phiti biti bhiti miti pavargaḥ.*

I think these are the five sūtras, describing the five sections (*varga*) of *sparsa* letters, and such a description is also necessary for the context. But, unfortunately, they occupy the place only in the commentary in both the editions mentioned above, as a result of the carelessness of the copyists and irresponsible editors. The bhāṣyakāra also in his commentary on sūtra “*Upadiṣṭā varṇāḥ*” (I. 34) points out that the above five sentences form part of the original sūtra work, which runs as follows:

“*Varṇasamāmnāye kathitā varṇāḥ. Tad yathā—kiti khiti giti ghiti niti kavargaḥ.*”

3. In the same manner in the commentary on sūtra “*Athāpi bhavati*” (VIII. 26) after giving the meaning of the sūtra as “*Anyo’pi śloko bhavati*” a line of *anuṣṭup* verse is found. There is no doubt that this half verse is a quotation of Kātyāyana from early authors as well as the next sūtra which is also in the form of an *ānuṣṭup* line, whose meaning will not be com-

Early authors mentioned in the Sūtra text 71

plete without the former half of the verse which is misplaced in the bhāṣya. The editors have given separate numbers to the sūtra “*Athāpi bhavati*” (VIII. 26) and its next one, which is only a continuation of the former sentence. By the sentence ‘Athāpi’ the author of the Prātiśākhya denotes that the next verse is a quotation. So it is clear that the following portion in the commentary is misplaced:

“*Vedasyādhyayanād dharmas
sampradānāt tathā śruteḥ.*”

4. The sūtra ‘*Vamśa*’ (IV. 3) has no place in the original sūtra text. But as Uvvaṭa has commented on the same it is also assumed to be a sūtra.

“*Vṛddham vṛddhiḥ*” this particular sūtra is repeated at the end of all the chapters of the work. The meaning of the sūtra is that as the subject-matter of both the works Śikṣā and Vyākaraṇa are described in the Prātiśākhya, this work is recognised to be more useful than the other two texts, and hence its study edifies the readers all the more. The repetition of this sūtra at the end of each chapter is intended to create a taste among the people for the study of this subject.

Early authors mentioned in the Sūtra text—
The author of the Prātiśākhya mentions by name ten authors on the same subject. They are:

A. (1) Kāṇva (I. 123, 149).

(2) Śākaṭāyana⁵ (III. 9, 12, 88; IV. 5, 127, 190).

5. Some say that Śākaṭāyana is another name of Kāṇvācārya.

- (3) Śākalya (III. 10).
- (4) Aupaśavi (III. 132).
- (5) Kāśyapa (IV. 5).
- (6) Dālbhya (IV. 16).
- (7) Śaunaka (IV. 120).
- (8) Jātūkarnya (IV. 123, 158; V. 22).
- (9) Gārgya (IV. 165).
- (10) Mādhyandina (VIII. 29).

In addition to these authors, he refers to some others also, without mentioning their names. They are:

B. (1) Eke. (III. 92, 129; IV. 187; V. 23, 44; VII. 8).

(2) Ekeṣām. (IV. 56, 144).

The reference regarding the authors of the section 'B' are related only to the different schools (15 śākhās) of the *White Yajur-veda*. This will be clear from the commentary of Uvvaṭa in the respective places noted above.

Main topics of this Prātiśākhya—This Prātiśākhya, just like others, lays down the rules relating to the proper pronunciation and recitation of the Saṃhitā, Pada, and Krama texts of the *White Yajur-veda*. Generally each Prātiśākhya work attaches itself to the text of a single Veda only but it covers all the schools belonging to it. Prātiśākhya gives the general regulations as to the nature of the sounds employed, the euphonic rules observed, the accent and its modifications, the modulation of the voices, etc. All the individual cases in which peculiar phonetic or other changes are observed

are also specially pointed out. It is also understood from the Prātiśākhya how the continuous combined text is to be reconstructed from the word-text (padapāṭha), where the separate words of the text are given in their original form, unaffected by alteration, addition, loss, constancy, etc. The directions as to the recital of the Veda-saṃhitā and the method of repeating each word in several connections present a lively picture and record of the care of the Āryans in faithfully following the accuracy of traditional handed down from ancient times. Except these other subjects dealt with in the Prātiśākhya are considered purely accessory.

Scope of the Prātiśākhya.—As far as we know for the present, there are fifteen different schools attached to the *Śukla-yajur-veda*. There is no separate Prātiśākhya work to each of these different schools, but there is only a common work for all these fifteen schools as well as the other works, the Śrautasūtras and Smārtasūtras. This can be seen from the general treatment of the subject-matter. For instance, the Prātiśākhya holds the opinion that the letter 'ya' which is an *iṣatspr̥ṣṭa* (formed by the slight touch of the organs of speech) will change into *spr̥ṣṭa* (formed by the complete contact of the organs of speech) when it comes at the end of words, and this is common to all the different schools of the White Yajurveda. Even though it is so among these fifteen schools, the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana mainly depends upon the Mādhyandina school only. The author of the Prātiśākhya

is silent about this fact in the present work, but in another place he has stated in a clear manner:

⁶ “*Tasmin śukle Yājñāmnyāye Mādhyandinīyake mantre svaraprakriyā.*”

As the author of the Prātiśākhya uses only the word ‘eka’ to denote the differences of opinion among some authors, whose names are not mentioned by him, and as these differences are favourable to the Kāṇva school, it will not be out of place to assume that this work is intended to treat the svaras and saṃskaras of only two schools the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina.

The author incidentally states the subject-matter of the other schools, here and there, but does not tell us how they are related to one another. The subject-matter of the sūtra I. 120 relates to the Mādhyandinas, of sūtra I. 129 to the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, of sūtras IV. 103 and IV. 144 to all the fourteen schools except Mādhyandina, of sūtra IV. 165 to the Carakas, of sūtra V. 43 to the Vājsaneyins, and of sūtra V. 44 to the Kāṇvas. These points are mentioned only by the commentator. Only in one place: in the sūtras 29 and 30 of the eighth chapter, the author of the Prātiśākhya himself informs us of the difference between the Mādhyandina and other schools with regard to letters: he mentions some letters which are not accepted by the Mādhyandinas. Later commentators also inform us that the main basis for

the construction of this treatise is the Mādhyandina-śākhā.

“*Kiñ ca Mādhyandinaśākhām eva mukhyām abhidadhāty ācāryapravṛttiḥ. Tathā hi—Ye mantrā Mādhyandinaśākhāyām uktā ‘pratyusṭam’ ityādayas te pratīkamātreṇa uditāḥ. Ye Mādhyandinaśākhātaḥ Kāṇvaśākhāyām adhikās samadhītāḥ ‘yas te prāṇam’ ityādayas te sampūrṇā eva bhagavatā sūtre upanibaddhāḥ. Ye tu Kāṇvaśākhāto Mādhyandinaśākhāyām adhikas samadhītāḥ ‘śivo nāma’ ityādayas te tu dvayoś śākhayos samāmnātamantrā iva pratīkamātreṇopanibaddha iti dvayoś śākhayos samamukhyapravṛttitve Mādhyandinaśākhāyām apy anadhītā iva Mādhyandinaśākhāmantrās sūtre bhagavatā upanibaddhā syuḥ.*”

Ananta-bhaṭṭa at the beginning of his commentary on this Prātiśākhya, discusses about the scope of the treatise and concludes that it belongs to the different texts of the *Śukla-yajur-veda*, in the following manner:

The etymology of the word Prātiśākhya is—*‘śākhāyām śākhāyām pratiśākhām, pratiśākhām bhavam iti pratiśākhyam’*. By this etymology, and by the fact that the illustrations are procurable for all the rules, it can be inferred that this treatise belongs to the text of the Mādhyandina recension only. If it were so, the illustrations from the text of the Kāṇva school would become irrelevant, and some

7. *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya* by Anantadeva-yājñika. *Kaṇḍikā*
1. *Sūtra*. 3.

of the rules already laid down would be without any use, because of their inapplicability to the Mādhyandina text. So we have to assume that this is a treatise for all the fifteen recensions. But Kātyāyana has laid down the rules mainly for the text of the Mādhyandinas, and as there is no considerable difference between the texts of each school, occasionally he has mentioned the rules relating to the texts of the other schools also, with a view to help the students of the Kāṇva and other schools. The longstanding ancient usage also supports us in the view that there is only one *Prātiśākhya* for all these schools.

In this treatise we can see many instances of Kātyāyana enunciating rules for the proper recitation of certain text-portions which are uncommon to the Mādhyandinas. For example:

1. *Purolāśair havīṃṣyā*. (Saṃ. XIX. 20.)
2. *Mīlhuṣṭama śivatama*. (Saṃ. XVI. 51.)

In the above places the pronunciation of 'l' and 'lh' for 'ḍ' and 'ḍh' is common with the Kāṇvas only.

In the same manner, by the rule III. 87. Kātyāyana prescribes 'vināma' in certain places. By this, there is no chance for a change of the letter 'n' of—*pari no rudrasya*—into 'ṇ'. But the Kāṇvas recite this portion with 'ṇ' as—*pari ṇo rudrasya*—, and to get this recitation he has laid down a separate rule III. 88—"Parīṇa iti Śākaṭāyanaḥ".

In the word 'Śrīmaṇāḥ' the 'n' retains its own form. But the Kāṇvas substitute 'ṇ' in their recitation. To get this pronunciation there is another rule III. 92—"Śrīmanā ity eke".

In the following places the visarjanīya retains its own form by the rule III. 11—"Prakṛtyā kakha-yoḥ paphayoś ca".

1. *Viṣṇoḥ kramah.* (Sam. XII. 5.)
2. *Tataḥ khanema.* (Sam. XI. 22.)
3. *Deva savitaḥ prasuva.* (Sam. IX. 1.)
4. *Yāḥ phalinīḥ.* (Sam. XII. 89.)

But the Kāṇvas substitute jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya in the place of visarjanīya. For this there is a special rule III. 12. "*Jihvāmūliyopadhmāniyau śakāṭāyanaḥ*". There is no jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya for the Mādhyandinas. The Kāṇvas would recite:

1. *Viṣṇoḥ < kramah.*
2. *Tataḥ < khanema.*
3. *Deva savitaḥ < prasuva.*
4. *Yāḥ < phalinīḥ.*

In the same way there are many rules in this treatise for which illustrations are hardly procurable from the two available texts: of the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina. Some of them are:

1. *Nāśe ca.* (III. 43.)
2. *Ṣaḍ daśadantayoś saṅkhyāvayo'rthayoś ca.* (III. 47.)

3. (āntodātta-somapūrva-) *Dvandvam cen-drasomapūrvam pūṣāgnivāyusu.* (II. 55.)

For the present we can assume that these rules are with regard to the recitation of the texts of other schools, which are lost to us. Hence, it is highly probable that this treatise is a common one to the different texts of the *Śukla-yajur-vedic* schools.

According to the *Vaidikābharṇa* and *Uvvaṭa* the *Prātiśākhya* is a scientific treatise on phonetics combining the subject-matter of the *Śikṣā* works and grammatical treatises and generally applicable to a group of schools or *śākhās* of a particular Veda.

Inference of separate treatises for each school or śākhā—“In the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa*⁸ it is stated that there were fifteen codes of law for the fifteen *śākhās* of the *Vājasaneyins*: and *Kumārila*⁹ says that the text of these codes of law and of the *Gr̥hyas* was peculiar in *Caraṇa*, in the same manner as the formal rules of the *Prātiśākhyas*. *Madhusūdana-sarasvatī*’s definition of *Prātiśākhya* is perfectly in accordance with this view of the subject. He says: * * * * * ‘the rules of pronunciation (*śikṣā*), which apply to all the *Vedas* in general, have been explained by *Pāṇini*, but that the same rules, as they apply to the *śākhās* of each Veda, have been taught by other sages under the title of *Prātiśākhyas*’ ”.¹⁰

8. “*Teṣāṃ pañcadaśa yathāsvaram pratiṣṭhāḥ pratiśākhāṃ ca kuladharmāḥ.*”

9. “*Dharmaśāstrāṇāṃ gr̥hyagrandhānāṃ ca pratiśākhya-lakṣaṇavat praticaraṇam pāṭhavyavasthopalabhyate.*” *Kumārila. Tantra-vārtika. v. 1. 3.*

10. Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature. 1859.* pp. 121, 122.

Engagement of the Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya—Vaidikas assign the term *prakṛti-pāṭha* to the three recitations: *samhitā*, *pada*, and *krama* and the term *vikṛti-pāṭha* to the eight: *śikhā*, *mālā*, *ratha*, *daṇḍa*, etc., which are the enlarged recitations of the *krama-pāṭha*. Of these two kinds of recitations, the Prātiśākhyas are generally engaged in laying down the rules of construction of the *prakṛti-pāṭha* which includes the three recitations. The *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* also deals with the construction of the *prakṛti-pāṭhas*. Especially, among the commentators, there is a controversy regarding the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* whether it treats of the 'jaṭā' recitation also which is one of the eight recitations. We hear that the sage Vyāḍi has written a work called *Vikṛti-vallī* describing all these varieties of recitations. Full information regarding these recitations can be had from the work "*Das Jaṭāpaṭala*" by Thibaut.

Metrical description excluded in the Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya—In this Prātiśākhya Kātyāyana has not given any metrical description as it is described by Śaunaka in his *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*. And it is also to be seen only in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, occupying three chapters 16, 17 and 18. But as Kātyāyana has described about the varieties of metres of the *Śukla-yajur-veda* in his *Śukla-yajur-veda-sarvānukramanī* there is no necessity to repeat the same in his Prātiśākhya also. In the same manner we find the description of metres related to the *Ṛg-veda* in the *Ṛg-veda-sarvānukramanī*, and there is no necessity

that they are to be described in the *Rk-prātiśākhya* also. So we can assume that Kātyāyana and Śaunaka have not acquainted themselves of each other's works. That Kātyāyana belonged to the south is an additional reason for their want of acquaintance.

Employment of Gaṇa—The *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* does not give any proof of the use of gaṇas (a single word of a class followed by the phrase 'and the like' to indicate all the words of the class to which the same rule applies). But in a sūtra "*Utthamḥanādīny ādisaṃśayāt*" V. 38, the use of the word *utthamḥanādi* will lead one to think that it is a *gaṇa* representing the three words *utthamḥana*, *utthāya*, and *utthitāya*. As a matter of fact, *utthamḥanādi* is not a real *gaṇa* representing the above three words, because there is no necessity for the construction of such a *gaṇa* for one particular place like this. Pāṇini was the first grammarian to use the gaṇas extensively. Among *Prātiśākhya* treatises the one related to the *Atharvan* (Whitney) does give sufficient proof of the use of gaṇas, and we find therein 24 gaṇas.

Secondary topics—The *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* contains some irrelevant matter which is not connected with the main topics of the work; this is also the case with some of the other early grammatical treatises. For instance, Kātyāyana includes recommendations of vedic study in I. 20-26, and in the last adhyāya, the same is to be seen in the *Atharva-prātiśākhya* (IV. 101-109) also. In the *Rk-prātiśākhya* the chapter 15 describes the method

followed in a particular vedic school, and the chapters 16, 17 and 18 are with regard to prosody. The natural conclusion is that the description of these secondary topics is a characteristic of primitive treatises composed before the production of standard works on grammar, etymology, prosody, etc., on scientific lines.

General character of the treatise—The author of the *Prātiśākhya*, who composed this treatise with the idea of describing the rules regarding *svara* and *saṃskāra*, defines not only the above subject, but some other matters also not pertinent to his subject. In *sūtra* IV. 27 he describes the varieties of words: words ending with *ūṣman* letter (*ūṣmāntam padam*), words ending in vowels (*svarāntam padam*), etc. This subject is irrelevant to the context. As it purports to convey information about the correctness of words, to those who are ignorant of the subject, we may take it that it will be useful in that respect. In the same way the *sūtra* III. 85 is intended to elucidate some points related to *vyākaraṇa*.

The *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* and *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*—Of the two kinds of vedic treatises *Śikṣas* and *Prātiśākhyas*, the *Śikṣas* are considered to be earlier. Both these works come under the common denomination *Veda-lakṣaṇa*, because they enunciate the rules regarding the pronunciation, accentuation and euphonic changes of the *Veda-saṃhitā*. But there are some later works bearing the title of *Śikṣā*, which deal with the subject-matter of *Prā-*

tiśākhyas and Parīṣiṣṭa works. A careful study of these works will lead us to infer that these two kinds of works have originated with different objects. The main topics of Śikṣā-works are: the description of *sthāna* (the place or organ of utterance of letters), *kaṛaṇa* (the particular vocal organ which produces the sound), and *āśya-prayatna* (different efforts of the mouth in the production of articulate sounds) of letters, the method of pronunciation, and the rules to be adopted for the oratorical study of Vedic texts. The main topics of Prātiśākhya-works are: the description of rules regarding *svara* (accentuation), and *saṃskāra* which include *āgama* (prothesis), *ādeśa* (substitute), *lopa* (aphæresis), *vikāra* (change of form), and *prakṛtibhāva* (acquirement of natural form) of *varṇas* or letters. On the other hand, it is obvious that many subjects described in the Prātiśākhya-works have a place in Śikṣā-works also as *prāsāṅgika-viṣaya* (incidental subject); the converse is also true. In some places where the Prātiśākhyas are rather obscure, the Śikṣas throw much light.

Siddeshvara Varman has pointed out among so many other things that the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* is a much later work; its author is one Soma Śarman and not Yājñavalkya; his date should not be earlier than the fifth century A.C., and later than the tenth century A.C. He has also said that in several instances this Śikṣā quotes the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*. These and similar other conclusions of

Varman are merely his own imagination and have little value.

He has also traced¹¹ four stages in the development of the śikṣā works, and according to him in the second stage the scope of śikṣā is 'general phonetics'. He has said that the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* mentions in I. 29 the term Śikṣā as treating of sounds 'prescribed by the Śikṣā'. He adds further that Śikṣā implies 'general phonetics' while Prātiśākhya signifies 'applied phonetics'.

In this connection it is necessary to mention that Professor Winternitz has stated in his *A History of Indian Literature* (Vol. I.) that among the Śikṣā-works the *Vyāsa-śikṣā* is considered to be the earliest work. This statement of the learned Professor shows his want of acquaintance with the *Vyāsa-śikṣā*. If we examine the *Vyāsa-śikṣā* it will be clear that it has not the same object as that of the early Śikṣā-works mentioned above; and that it is a work later than the Prātiśākhyas, though bearing the title of Śikṣā. The subject-matter of this work and of the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* is the same, but in the *Vyāsa-śikṣā* it is summarised in kārīkas, and prātiśākhya is mentioned in some places.¹² Hence, this work can be treated only as

11. *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, 1929, pp. 4, 5.

12. Vide my edition of *Vyāsa-śikṣā*. Verse 239. Supplement to the *Journal of the Madras University*, 1929 July. Prof. H. Lüders published a thesis '*Die Vyāsa-śikṣā, besonders in inner verhältnis zum Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*' for his doctorate, at Keil in 1895; it was '*gekronte Preisschrift*' of the University of Göttingen.

an abridgement or compendium of the *Taittirīya-prātisākhya*.

There are several Śikṣā-works describing the above rules of each of the Vedic text. The *Saunaka-śikṣā*, *Svara-vyañjana-śikṣā*, and *Śaṅkṣā-śikṣā* are related to the *R̥g-veda*, the *Vyāsa-śikṣā* to the *Kṛṣṇa-yajur-veda*, the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* to the *Śukla-yajur-veda*, the *Nāradya-śikṣā* to the *Sāma-veda* and the *Māṇḍūkī-śikṣā* to the *Atharva-veda*. Besides these works there are some śikṣās which are common treatises to all Vedic texts. They are: the *Pāṇini-śikṣā* (of course, there are different versions of this work), *Siddhānta-śikṣā*, *Sarva-sammata-śikṣā*, etc.

The *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* is older than the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya*, because Kātyāyana quotes some passages from the former work. As we think of describing the mutual relation between the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* and the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* in a separate monograph we leave the subject here.

Some general remarks—In both the printed texts, the sūtra “*Bhāvvyupadhaś ca rid-
visarjanīyah*” (IV. 34) is found in the same manner. But as it is, the term ‘rit’ is not explained by Kātyāyana in any part of the work. ‘Rit’ is used here instead of the term ‘riphita’. In many other places the term ‘riphita’ itself is to be seen and not ‘rit’: “*Riphitam ca saṁhitāyām aniruk-
tam*” IV. 19; “*Riphite nirukte*” IV. 194, etc. In the same manner, in the first adhyāya where he deals

with the technical terms of the treatise, he says that the letter 'r' is termed by 'epha', thus 'repha', the same term is used in many rules: "*Rkārarephārudayaś ca*" III. 83, "*Rephe lupyate dīrgham copadhā*" IV. 35, etc. But in one place "*ṛṣarebhyo nakāro nakāram samānapade*" III. 85, 'rebhyaḥ' stands instead of 'rephebhyaḥ'. So we can assume that the use of 'rit' for 'riphita', and 'rebhyaḥ' for 'rephebhyaḥ' are the result of the scriptorial mistakes of the manuscripts which is blindly followed by the editors.

The synonymous word 'udaya' which means originally, 'going upwards', and then, 'after, following', and which is a rare usage instead of the word 'para', occurs frequently in Prātiśākhya. Kātyāyana also uses this word in many places. For instance: "*Patitālavysvarodaye*" III. 35, "*Ver yudayaḥ*" III. 67, "*Her mithodayaḥ*" III. 68, "*Rkārarephārudayaś ca*" III. 83, "*Sam ce pakārād ukārodayāt*" IV. 7, "*Ralav ṛlvarṇābhyām ūṣmaṇi svarodaye sarvatra*" IV. 17, "*Nodāttasvaritodayam*" IV. 141, etc. He also rarely uses the word 'adhika' in the same sense (above as it is found in the sūtra "*Athākhyās samāmaūyādhikāḥ prāg riphitāt*" I. 33).

For the sūtras III. 43, 47; IV. 9, 95; VI. 20 and 23, the examples are hardly procurable from the saṃhitā text. So we can assume that the illustrations to these sūtras will be found from the text of other schools (śākhās) which are lost to us. But the commentator remarks this in another way:

“*Itha yāny udāharaṇāni Saṁhitāyām nopalabhyante teṣām api lakṣaṇam prasaṅgāt kriyamāṇam na virudhyata eva.*” “*Yathā edhāhārasya madhvāharaṇam jalāhārasya matsyāharaṇam puṣpāhārasya phalāharaṇam ca na virudhyate.*”¹³ ‘Just like, that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch waters, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers.’ And in such places Uvvaṭa gives temporal illustrations of his own, which he calls as ‘rūpodāharaṇa’.

Again, in the sūtras III. 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the intervention of anusvāra, ‘k’ and ‘r’ does not prevent ‘s’ from becoming ‘ṣ’, if this change has to take place otherwise. These rules have no business here, for Saṁhitā and Pada-text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite grammatical rules.

When a general rule is not applicable to some words the author tries to explain such rules to such particular words, putting them down as irregular or exceptional (nipāta). For example the sūtras III. 73, 75, 87, 88, 120, etc., are nipātana-sūtras, treating the words of exceptional cases. Uvvaṭa has also observed this method, of the author of Prātiśākhya and says:

“*Yad atra lakṣaṇenānupapannam tat sarvam nipātanāt siddham.*”

13. Uvvaṭa. IV. 9. The same matter is reported in another place (Vide III. 58) and also in his commentary to the *Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya*.

We meet in Kātyāyana's work with some terms such as *tin*, *kṛt*, *taddhita*, *samāsa*, *dvandva*, etc.: he enumerates some special terms *sim*, *dhi*, *mut*, *jit*, etc., but he does not give any definition whatever of the meaning of these names. From this we learn that these terms had been employed before he wrote his work.

In sūtra I. 29 the author of the Prātiśākhya declares that he is going to describe the *sthāna* (the place or organ of utterance of letters), the *karaṇa*,¹⁴ and the *āsyaprayatna* (action of the mouth used in pronouncing the letters), etc., which are the subject-matter of Śikṣā-works (science which teaches proper pronunciation of words and laws of euphony). This declaration also denotes that the main subject-matter (*ādihikārika-viśaya*) of the Śikṣā-works is the treatment of *sthāna*, the *karaṇa*, the *āsyaprayatna*, etc., of the letters, and they incidentally describe also the subject connected with Prātiśākhya works.

In the same manner the author of the Prātiśākhya also makes incidental mention of the rules which are connected with saṃhitā text belonging to other¹⁵ school. The Saṃhitā text, the Pada text,

14. *Karaṇa* is defined thus:—

“*Kriyāyāḥ paraniṣpattir yadvyāpārād anantaram, |
Vivakṣyate yadā yatra karaṇam tat tadā smṛtam.*||”

15. “*Gāhamāna ityādibhis sūtrai ṛksaṃbandhyabhinidhānam uktam*”—Uvvaṭa IV. 78. See also I. 127.

and the Krama text, of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, are the main¹⁶ goals for this Prātisākhya treatise.

The origin of this Prātisākhya can be determined to be later than the sūtra works on Śrauta and Smārta, and as prior to the paṇiṣṭha works, as stated by Anantadevayājñika in his *Pratijñāpariśiṣṭabhāṣya*.¹⁷ This Prātisākhya is styled as *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya*, *Śukla-yajur-veda-prātisākhya*, *Mādhyandina-prātisākhya*,¹⁸ and *Vājasaneyi-prātisākhya*. Professor Wilson, in his Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, has ascribed a Prātisākhya to Vararuci, and this can hardly be anything else than the present Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana.

Kātyāyana—the author of the Śukla-yajur-veda-prātisākhya—¹⁹Kātyāyana is the author of the *Śukla-yajur-veda-prātisākhya*, and the following points lead to this conclusion:

1. At the end of the Prātisākhya the following sentence occurs:

16. “*Tatra saṃhitāyām ity adhikṛtya ‘Padānta-padāyoh sandhiḥ’* (III. 3) *ityādīnā granthena saṃhitālakṣaṇam aśeṣam uktam. Tatra ‘kramah smṛtiprayojanaḥ’* (IV. 181) *ityādīnā granthena kramalakṣaṇam uktam. Tathā ‘Arthah padam’* (III. 2) *ityādīnā padalakṣaṇam uktam.*” Uvvaṭa. V. 1.

17. Kaṇḍikā I, Sūtra 1.

18. The Commentary on Gobhila speaks of a *Mādhyandina-śākhyā-prātisākhya*.

19. This word is pronounced and written by all in the same manner as it is written. But when it comes in feminine gender, some write and pronounce as Kātyāyanī while others (probably keraliyas) as Kārtiyāyanī with the ‘repha’ in the middle. If this work comes from the root kr, the second form only is acceptable. If it comes from kata, the first form also is acceptable.

“*Ity āha svarasamskārapratiṣṭhāpayitā bhagavān kātyāyanah.*”

2. Uvvaṭa comments on the above sentence thus:

“*Bhagavān Kātyāyana idam śāstram āha.*”

3. In his bhāṣya to the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa* Anantadeva-yājñika²⁰ mentions Kātyāyana as the author of kalpa-sūtras, and 18 pariśiṣṭas (supplements).

“*Kalpān aṣṭādaśa pariśiṣṭāni ca prañītavato bhagavataḥ Kātyāyanasya.*”

4. The commentators on Vedic works also make incidental reference to Kātyāyana as the author of kalpa-sūtras, and 18 pariśiṣṭas (supplements). Among these the first quotation seems to occur in all the editions of this Prātiśākhya. As it contains some self-praise as ‘*Ity āha svarasamskārapratiṣṭhāpayitā bhagavān Kātyāyanah.*’, and as the verb is in the third person, the inclusion of this sentence can be doubted in the Prātiśākhya body itself. But as Uvvaṭa has commented on this sentence, and some old works also contain such matters, we can assume that this sentence is a portion of the text and not a compilation of any later copyist. Kātyāyana, as the author of the Prātiśākhya, is called ‘*svara-samskāra-pratiṣṭhāpayitā*’.

20. Kaṇḍikā I. Sūtra 1. Prātiśākhya (pārṣada) is considered to be one among 18 pariśiṣṭas. Vide *Caranavyūha-pariśiṣṭa* by Śaunaka, Kaṇḍikā II.

Śaunaka and Kātyāyana—Kātyāyana is regarded as an authority in Vedic literature and especially in the *Yajur-veda*, just like Ācārya Śaunaka in the *R̥g-veda*.

Kātyāyana as the author of the parīṣiṣṭas, the Anukramaṇikas, and other works—Kātyāyana is well-known to the scholars as the author of anukramaṇikas, kalpa-sūtras, 18 parīṣiṣṭas, Śikṣā, etc. As these 18 parīṣiṣṭas of Kātyāyana are mentioned by their names in the *Caraṇavyūha-parīṣiṣṭa*,²¹ it can be inferred that these parīṣiṣṭa²² works must have flourished before the existence of Śaunaka's *Caraṇavyūha-parīṣiṣṭa*.

It is also stated that Kātyāyana was one of the two pupils of Śaunaka.²³

Description of the parīṣiṣṭas and their usefulness to the Prātisākhya—The eighteen parīṣiṣṭa works are as follows:

- (1) *Yūpalakṣaṇa*.
- (2) *Cchāgalakṣaṇa*.
- (3) *Pratijñā*.
- (4) *Anuvāka-saṃkhyā*.

21. Vide the *Caraṇavyūha-parīṣiṣṭa* of Śaunaka, Kaṇḍikā ii.

22. There are several parīṣiṣṭa works attributed to several authors which belong to different schools of Veda. Among them these 18 parīṣiṣṭas, which are attributed to Kātyāyana, belong to *White-Yajurveda*. A full description of these parīṣiṣṭa works is given by Professor Max Müller in his *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* published in 1859 page 249—57.

23. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* by Max Müller, 1859, page 215.

- (5) *Caranavyūha*.
- (6) *Śrāddhakalpa*.
- (7) *Śulbaka*.
- (8) *Pārṣada*.
- (9) *R̥g-~~yaj~~ūṃṣi*.
- (10) *Iṣṭakāpūraṇa*.
- (11) *Pravarādhyāya*.
- (12) *Ukthaśāstra*.
- (13) *Kratusaṃkhyā*.
- (14) *Nigama*.
- (15) *Yajña-pārśva*.
- (16) *Hautraka*.
- (17) *Prasavotthāna*.
- (18) *Kūrmalakṣaṇa*.

Prātisākhya (pārṣada) is counted as one of these parīṣiṣṭa works. The *Pratijñā* contains three sections or khaṇḍas. The first deals with the characteristics of Veda, and some general rules regarding svaras, the second with saṃskāra (which include varnāgamā-deśa-lopa-vikāra-prakṛtibhāva), and the third with anu-svārā and visarajaniya. The *Anuvāka-parīṣiṣṭa* is useful in understanding the several branches and several sections of Veda. The *Śrāddha-parīṣiṣṭa* contains nine sections or khaṇḍas. The *Śulba-parīṣiṣṭa* describes the erection of temporary halls for Vedic sacrifices (śrauta-yajña). The *R̥gyajuh-parīṣiṣṭa* is useful in understanding the mantra and yajus-portions of the Yajur-veda, separately. The *Anuvākādhyāya* decides also the gotra and pravara of the sages, who have seen the mantra which is es-

sential at the time of sacrifices, prayers, offering of oblations to gods by throwing ghee into the consecrated fire, and worship. The first two and the last five pariśiṣṭas are useful only in the performance of sacrifices. In addition to these pariśiṣṭa works Kātyāyana has composed one more pariśiṣṭa, which is called *Bhāṣika*.

“*Vyākhyāsyē Bhāṣikam sūtram*
Kātyāyanamunīritam”.²⁴

This *Bhāṣika* is treated as a supplement to the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa*. The supplement to the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa* which treats of the rules of svara and saṃskāra of Brāhmaṇa (*Śatapatha*) is called *Bhāṣika*.

“*Bhāṣikam nāma Brāhmaṇasvaralakṣaṇa-vidhāyakam etatpratijñāsūtrapariśiṣṭasya Bhāṣika-sūtrapariśiṣṭam*”.²⁵

In *Bhāṣika-pariśiṣṭa*, the rules regarding svara and saṃskāra of *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, which are uncommon to its saṃhitā (*Vājasaneyin*), are specially mentioned.²⁶ The *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa* is in the form of an introduction to the *Pratijñā-sūtra* (the beginning sūtra of this *Prātiśākhya*, i.e., “*Svarasaṃskārayoḥ chandasi niyamah*”) and it describes

24. *Bhāṣika-pariśiṣṭa sūtra-bhāṣya* by Anantadeva-yājñika, Kaṇḍikā I. Sūtra 1.

25. See foot-note, page 412, *śuklayajuh-prātiśākhya*. Benares edition, 1888.

26. “*Mantralakṣaṇabhinnatvāc catapathabrāhmaṇasya tu.*
Tallakṣaṇāya munind prañitam bhāṣikam khalu.”||

Bhāṣika-pariśiṣṭasūtra- bhāṣya by Anantadeva-yājñika, Kaṇḍikā I. Sūtra 1.

the general characteristics of Veda, and general rules regarding *svara* and *saṃskāra*. A knowledge of the *Bhāṣika* and *Pratijñā* is essential to those, who are studying the *Prātiśākhya*, and hence they can be treated as the tail of the *Prātiśākhya*-body. In the same manner, it will be clear from the following explanation that the *Rgyajuh-parīṣiṣṭa* is also very useful for the study of the *Prātiśākhya*:

“*Prakṛtibhāva Rkṣu.*”²⁷

This sūtra contains the word ‘rk’ and it is necessary to know the lakṣaṇa of ‘rk’ which is stated as “*niyatākṣarapādāvasānatvam rktvam*”.

“*Yajuṣṣu ca.*”²⁸

This sūtra contains the word ‘yajus’ and it is necessary to know the lakṣaṇa of ‘yajus’ which is stated as “*anīyatākṣarapādāvasānatvam yajuṣṭvam*”. Some have opined that there is no pāda for ‘yajus’, and hence they have no chandas. As they have no chandas they cannot be designated as mantras, and without the designation mantra they will not produce any effect in karma. The merits in acquiring the lakṣaṇa of rk, yajus, etc., and the defects of not knowing them are summarised as follows:

“*Etāny aviditvā yo’dhīte’nubṛūte japati juhōti yajate yājate, tasya brahma nirvīryam yātayāmam bhavaty athāntarāśvagartam vāpadyate sthānum varcchati pramīyate vā pāpīyān bhavati. Atha vij-*

27. *Śukla-yajuh-prātiśākhya*, IV. 81.

28. *Ibid.* IV. 79.

*ñāyaitāni yo'dhīte tasya vīryavad atha yo'rthavit
tasya vīryavittaram bhavati japitvā hutveṣṭvā tat-
phalena yujyata iti.*'²⁹

In the same way a knowledge of the *Anuvākā-dhyāya* also is indispensable for the study of the *Prātiśākhya*. For example:

*“Dvipadaikapadāny apy anuvāke.”*³⁰

This sūtra contains the word ‘anuvāka’, and it is necessary to know what is anuvāka.

Kātyāyana's identification with the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini's grammar—Now against the question of identity of Kātyāyana, the author of these *pariśiṣṭas* and other works, with Kātyāyana, the author of *Vārtika* on Pāṇini's *Vyākaraṇa-sūtras* the following point can be urged. As these Vedic works contain many usages which are not permitted by Pāṇini, it can be easy to infer that the *Vārtikakāra* is a different author. The same view is held by Professor Macdonell also, and he has approximately fixed the age of Kātyāyana, which runs as follows:

“Owing to the concise character of their style, both the *Sarvānukramaṇi* and the *Śrauta-sūtra* of the White Yajur-veda probably belong to the later sūtra period. Both the works were composed by a Kātyāyana. The *Vājasaneyi Anukramaṇi*, which has nearly the whole of its introduction in common with that of the *Sarvānukramaṇi*, is also the work

29. *Kātyāyana-sarvānukrama*, (*Śukla-yajurvedīya*), *Khaṇḍa*, I.

30. *Śukla-yajuh-prātiśākhya*, IV, 167.

of a Kātyāyana. All this points to the author of these works being the same Kātyāyana, who, because the diction of Sarvānukramaṇi shows several Vedic peculiarities and forms not sanctioned by Pāṇini's grammar, could hardly be identical with Pāṇini's commentator of that name. Hence, it seems likely that the Sarvānukramaṇi, as a later but still probably pre-Pāṇinean sūtra, dates from not later than the middle of the fourth century B. C.³¹

Kātyāyana and Vararuci—Our information regarding the age and personality of the sage Kātyāyana is negligible. But the name of Kātyāyana is familiar to us as the author of many works: Sūtra works of the Vājasaneyins, the *Upagrandha* of the *Sāmaveda*, Bhrājaśloka³², Brahma-kārikas of the Atharvans, Mahāvārttika (on Pāṇini), The Anukramaṇis, the *Nāma-mālā* (a work on lexicography), some *Parīśiṣṭa* works, etc. According to Indian tradition Kātyāyana bore the alternative name Vararuci, and to this name many works are ascribed. They are: the *Prākṛta-prakūśa*, the *Liṅgānuśāsana*,³³ the

31. Introduction to *Bṛhad-devatā*, page 12. Harward Oriental Series, Vol. V.

32. Patañjali—“*Kva punar idam paṭhitam. Bhrājā nāma ślokaḥ*”—*Kaiyaṭa*—“*Kātyāyanopanibhaddha-bhrājākhya-śloka-madhyapaṭhitasya tv asya śrutir anugrahikāsti*”—Nāgoji bhāṭṭa—“*Bhrājā nāma Kātyāyanapraṇītās ślokā ity ākuḥ*”. *Mahābhāṣya*. Paspasān-hika.

33. Liebh. Einführung in die ind. einheim. sprachwissenschaft, i. II; See Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, iii. 391.

Puṣpa-sūtra, the *Vāraruca-saṃgraha*,³⁴ etc. We know that Kātyāyana was the author of *Sarvāṇṇ-kramaṇi*, and the *Vārtikas* on Pāṇini, but these are quoted in many places as the works of Vararuci. Hemacandra the celebrated Jaina author in his dictionary gives Vararuci as a synonyme of Kātyāyana, just as he gives Vātsyāyana as a synonyme of Kauṭalya, and Sālāturiya of Pāṇini. In this manner, from early times, Kātyāyana was confused with the name of Vararuci.

Professor Müller, in his *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* has discussed the following points relating to Kātyāyana:

Treatise by Kātyāyana;—Kātyāyana's *Sarvāṇṇukrama* to the *Ṛg-veda*;—how to fix the age of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana as authors of *Anukramaṇis*;—peculiarities of style in Śaunaka and Kātyāyana;—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's account of Śaunaka and his pupils; their works;—five generations of teachers;—Kātyāyana, the same as Vararuci;—Somaśiva's account of Kātyāyana and Pāṇini;—Indian tradition places Kātyāyana and Pāṇini contemporaneous with king Nanda;—Nanda the successor of Candragupta, the contemporary of Alexander;—

34. Trevandram Sanskrit Series No. 33, 1913. Twenty-five *kārikas* on case construction, compounds, verbs and stanzas of poetry. Patañjali also mentions a *Vāraruca-kāvya* in his *Mahābhāṣya*. According to A. B. Keith the identity of the author of *kāvya* with the author of *Prākṛta-prakāśa* is most implausible. Vide *History of Sanskrit Literature* of A. B. Keith, 1928, p. 427.

date of Kātyāyana in the second half of the fourth century B. C.;—Kātyāyana's real date.

His main conclusions are as follows:

1. The relation between Śaunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same śākhā, and that Śaunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana.

2. According to Śaḍguruśiṣya's (1187 A. C.) statement which agrees with his own inference, there were five generations of teachers and pupils: first Śaunaka; after him Āśvalāyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works; thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana; fourthly Patañjali; and lastly Vyāsa.

3. Pāṇini's grammar is later than the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana is a contemporary of Pāṇini. The chain of works is as follows: (1) the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, (2) the grammar of Pāṇini, (3) the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana. In this chain some rules of the second work are identical with some of the first, because such rules marched from the first into the third, and they then gradually invaded the second work.

4. Kātyāyana and Vararuci are the same person.

5. Somadeva's account of Kātyāyana agrees with that of Śaḍguruśiṣya.

6. Somadeva's story makes Kātyāyana minister of king Nanda, and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pāṭaliputra, and this makes Kātyā-

yana an old man at the time of Candragupta's accession to throne.

7. From an European point of view Kātyāyana must be placed in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

8. Whatever changes may have to be introduced in to the earlier chronology of India, nothing will ever shake the date of Candragupta, the illegitimate successor of the Nandas, the ally of Seleucus, the grandfather of Aśoka. That date is the sheet anchor of Indian chronology, and it is sufficient for the solution of the problem of Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana is anterior to Candragupta, the successor of the Nandas, or, at all events, the founder of a new dynasty, subsequent to the collapse of Alexander's empire. The Sūtra period can be extended in its limits to atleast three generations after Kātyāyana, to about 200 B.C.

Prof. Weber also has recorded his views of the relation of Pāṇini to the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana in the preface to his edition of the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* as follows:

“We now come to Pāṇini himself, that is to say (“*resp.*”), to the description of the relations which exist between him and the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*. These relations are, on the one hand, very close,—since a great number of the rules contained in it re-occur, individually, either literally or nearly literally in Pāṇini, and since the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, like Pāṇini, now and then makes use of an algebraic terminology; but, on the other hand,

there is again a vast gulf between them, since this algebraic terminology does not entirely correspond, like that of the *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*, with that of Pāṇini, but, on the contrary, partly thoroughly (*zum Theil ganz*) differs from it. The particulars on this point are the following: There correspond with Pāṇini—*ti* i, 27. *ān* vi, 24. (MS. A, however, reads merely *ā*), *lu* iii, 12. *lu* i, 114. (*lu*—“resp.”—*lopa* occur several times, but already, too, in the *Rk. Pr.* and *Taitt. Pr.*); the use of *t* in *et* and *ot*, i, 114. iv, 58. may likewise be added, and, amongst other expressions which are not algebraic, *upapadam* vi, 14. 23; *yadvṛttam* vi, 14 (compare Pāṇ. viii. 1, 48, *kimvṛtta*); *anudeśa* i, 143; *dhātu*, verbal root, v, 10; *anyataratas* v, 15 (Pāṇ. *anyatarasyām*); *liṅga*, gender, iv, 170 (only in BE.); *saṃjñā* iv, 96. But there belong exclusively to the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, and there have been nowhere shown to exist the algebraic terms: *sim* i, 44. iv, 50. for the eight simple vowels; *jī* i, 50. 167. iii, 12. iv, 118, for the tenues inclusive of the sibilants (except *h*); *mud* i, 52. iii, 8. 12. iv, 119 for *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*; *dhi* i, 53. iv, 35. 37. 117, for the sonant sounds; and to these may be added—*bhāvin* i, 46. iii, 21. 55. iv, 33. 45. vii, 9. for the designation of all vowels except *ā*; *rit*=*riphita* iv, 33. vi, 9. and *saṃkrama* iii, 148. iv, 77. 165. 194; for they, too, are peculiar to the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* alone.

If thus, then, the independence of this *Pr.* of Pāṇini be vouched for with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), we shall be

able to look upon the numerous literal coincidences between both, either as [the result of their] having drawn [them] from a common source, or of Pāṇini having borrowed [them] from the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, just as we have the same choice in the case of the rules which are common to the *Kātyāśrauta-sūtra* i. 8, 19, 20, and Pāṇ. i. 2, 33. 34. In the latter case the former conjecture may be preferable (compare also *Vāj. Pr.* i. 130); but in our present case I should myself, indeed, rather (*in der That eher*) prefer deciding for Pāṇini's having borrowed [them] immediately [from the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*], on account of the great speciality of some of these rules. For, a certain posteriority (*eine gewisse Posteriorität*) of the latter—independently of (his) having much more developed the algebraic terminology—seems to me to result with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), from the circumstance also, that the pronunciation of the short *a* was in his time already so much (*bereits so sehr*) *saṃvṛtā*, covered; that he does not make this vowel, but *u*, the type of the remaining vowels, whereas the *Vāj. Pr.* (and likewise the *Ath. Pr.*), it is true, agree with him in the *saṃvṛtatā* of the vowel *a*, but still retain it as the purest vowel; compare the note to i. 72. But it is true that local differences might have been the cause of this, since Pāṇini seems to belong to the North-West, but the *Vāj. Pr.* to the East, of India.

For the posteriority of the *Vāj. Pr.* to Pāṇini (*für eine Posteriorität des Vāj. Pr. nach Pāṇini*) it

might be alleged, at the very utmost (*höchstens*), that the author of the Vārttikas to Pāṇini bears the same name as the author of the *Vāj. Pr.* There are, indeed, between both some direct points of contact, —comp. iii. 13, 41, 46,—but then again there are also direct differences; comp. (iii. 85) iv. 119. In general, sameness of names, like that of Kātyāyana, can never prove the identity of persons [who bore them]; there is nothing proved by it, except that both belonged to the same family, or (“*resp.*”) were followers of the same school—the Kātās.

Amongst the sūtras which are identical in the *Vāj. Pr.* and in Pāṇini, we must now point out, first, some general rules which are of the greatest importance for the economy of the whole arrangement of both texts, and which, indeed, are of so special a nature that they seem to claim with a tolerable amount of force (*mit ziemlicher Entschiedenheit*) [the assumption of the one] having borrowed from the other. They are the three following (called *paribhāṣā* by the scholiast to Pāṇini): *tasminn iti nirदिष्टे pūrvasya*, *Vāj. Pr.* i, 134. Pāṇ. i, 66; *tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ*, *Vāj. Pr.* i. 135. Pāṇ. i. 1, 67 (without *ādeḥ*, but see 54);—*ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*, *Vāj. Pr.* i, 136. Pāṇ. i. 1, 49. These are very remarkable also: *saṃkhyātānām anudeśo yathāsaṃkhyam*, *Vāj. Pr.* i, 143, compared with Pāṇ. i. 3, 10. *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśas samānām*; and *vipratīṣedha uttaram balavad alope*, i, 159, compared with *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, Pāṇ. i. 4, 2. But [passages] do not require [the supposition of] such a special relation (*beide bedingen indess nicht ein so*

speceielles Verhältniss), for they might be brought home to a common source in the general grammatical tradition (*sondernkönnten auf gemeinsame Quelle in der allgemeinen grammatischen Tradition zurückgeführt werden*) (the *sāmānyam* of the *Ath. Pr.* i. 3, *evam iheti ca vibhāṣāprāptam sāmānye*). Likewise, *varṇasyādarśanam lopah*, i. 141, Pāṇ. i. 1, 60 (without *varṇasya*);—*uccair udāttaḥ—nīcāir anudāttaḥ—ubhayavān svaritaḥ* i, 108—110; Pāṇ. i. 2, 29—31 (where *samāhāraḥ* stands for *ubh.*);—*tasyādita udāttam svarārdhamātram*, i. 126, Pāṇ. i. 2, 32 (where *ardhahrasvam*);—*udāttāc cānudāttam svaritam—nodāttasvaritodayam*, iv. 134. 140, *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ—nodāttasvaritodayam*, Pāṇ. viii. 4, 66, 67;—*samānasthānakaranāsyaprayatnas savarṇaḥ*, i. 43, *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam*, Pāṇ. i. 1, 9;—*āsīd iti cottaram vicāre*, ii. 53, *upari svid āsīd iti ca*, Pāṇ. viii. 2, 102 (97); *nuś cāmreḍite*, iv. 8, *kān āmreḍite* Pāṇ. viii. 3, 12. There are besides these a very great number (*eine sehr grosse Zahl*) of coincidences [between them]; for instance, iv, 49 (Pāṇ. vi. 1, 84), vi, 19-23 (Pāṇ. viii. 1, 58-63), which, however, may be accounted for simply (*einfach*) by the similarity of their subject. In some of these instances the *Vāj. Pr.* is decidedly inferior (*stcht entschieden zueück*) to Pāṇini; (comp. the note to ii, 19, 20). Its grammatical terminology does not appear to have attained the survey and systematic perfection represented in Pāṇini; but compare also my former general statement on the want of skill or (*“resp.”*) probably want of practice of the author (*vgl. indess auch das*

*bereits im Eingange—p. 68—über die Ungeschicklichkeit resp. wohl Ungeübtheit des Vfs. im Allegem-
cinen Bemerkte*). In most instances, however, from being restricted to the one text of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, he is in a better position than Pāṇini, who has to deal with the whole linguistic stock; and therefore he is enabled to give rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision (*bahulam*) or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way (comp. the notes to ii, 30. 55. iii, 27. 95. iv, 58.).³⁵

Goldstücker in his *Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit Literature* (pp. 183-207.), dealing with the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya*s, started a special controversy, in which *inter alia* he attempts in particular to show that the author of the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* is identical with the author of the *Vārttika*s on Pāṇini. Here the main topics, which attracted his attention are the following:

1. Prof. Müller holds that all the *Prātiśākhya*s preceded the grammar of Pāṇini.

2. Prof. Roth also holds the same view. His account of the rise and progress of grammar in India is graphic and interesting.

3. Unhappily this account is fantastical.

4. Prof. Weber's view of the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*.

35. English translation by Goldstücker. See his *Pāṇini: His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 186-189.

5. Reasons for giving Prof. Weber a full hearing.

6. Prof. Weber's fantastical story of the letter ā.

7. Dangerous adverbs.

8. Prof. Müller does not agree with Prof. Weber's splitting Kātyāyana into two.

9. Prof. Müller's own theory on the relation of the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* to Pāṇini's grammar.

10. Refutation of all these theories.

11. Fallacy in the argument that the Prātiśākhya is anterior to Pāṇini. The Prātiśākhya is no grammar.

12. Vyākaraṇa is a Vedāṅga, not the Prātiśākhya. Difference between the character of the Vyākaraṇa and the Prātiśākhya. An *a-priori* argument for Pāṇini's work having preceded the Prātiśākhya.

13. Point of contact between both. How far a comparison between both is admissible. Another *a-priori* argument for the precedence of Pāṇini's work.

14. The *Rik-prātiśākhya* is more complete than Pāṇini's grammar, so far as both works can be compared at all. Relation of the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* to Pāṇini's work.

15. Prof. Weber schools Kātyāyana for want of practice and skill. Kātyāyana applies this reproach to Prof. Weber by showing him that he did not understand his Prātiśākhya.

16. Kātyāyana some times repeats the words of Pāṇini merely in order to make his criticism more prominent.

17. Further instances of criticism of his Prātiśākhya on the grammar of Pāṇini. The value of the censure which Prof. Weber assiduously passes on Kātyāyana.

18. Coincidences between the Prātiśākhya and the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.

19. His Prātiśākhya was written before his Vārttikas.

20. Further proof for the priority of the grammar of Pāṇini to the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*.

21. The historical argument.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya and Pāṇini-sūtra—
The existing relation between these two works are very close. The *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* is restricted to the one main text of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* while Pāṇini deals with the whole linguistic stock, and hence it was possible to Kātyāyana to lay down the rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pāṇini in some places wavers in indecision simply by repeating *Bahulam chandasi* (repeated 11. times), in other places decides in one-sided view.

Both these works contain some common rules and technical terms, which are of greatest importance for the economical construction and methodical arrangement of the texts. But Pāṇini's work is fully taken up with interpretative key-rules, tech-

nical terms, and algebraic terminology, and the student of Pāṇini will think that the grammatical terminology of the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* does not appear to have attained the systematic perfection to be seen in Pāṇini. So a critic well-versed in both these works can imagine that Pāṇini's work is full of organism and Kātyāyana's of mechanism.

It is true that several rules of the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* re-occur either literally, or nearly literally, or even in the same form in Pāṇini and both the works make use of an algebraic terminology, but this does not solely correspond with that of Pāṇini, and partly differs in some places. Kātyāyana has adopted some new terms *dhi*, *mut*, *sim*, etc., which are not used by Pāṇini. There was also no necessity for Kātyāyana to use in his work as many general rules and technical terms as that are used by Pāṇini, because his work is a small treatise describing the phonological phenomena of a particular Vedic text only. With regard to the language of both the authors, we can substantiate with material proofs, that it is in a slightly different manner. If we compare the subject-matter of the *Prātisākhya* with the Pāṇini's work it will be clear that the subjects portrayed in this *Prātisākhya* will correspond only to certain portions of the Pāṇini's work. It can also be stated decisively that there is no subject in this *Prātisākhya* (generally all) which will not form the subject-matter of the *Vyākaraṇa* and especially with *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā*, *saṃdhi*, and *svara*, *prakaraṇas* of Pāṇini.

But Professor Müller writes in his *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*³⁶ as follows:

“The real object of the Prātiśākhyas, as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words. This as a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vedic period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work. The Prātiśākhyas are never called Vyākaraṇas, grammars, and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions. The perfect phonetic system on which Pāṇini’s grammar is built, is no doubt taken from the Prātiśākhyas; but the sources of Pāṇini’s strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere”.

According to this author, all the Prātiśākhyas preceded Pāṇini. They are also never called Vyākaraṇas because their real object is not to teach the grammar of the language, but to enumerate the perfect phonetic system of different Vedic schools. This opinion should not be considered as against the previous statement because Müller speaks of the object of the treatises and not the subject-matter.

Many scholars have discussed about the date of Kātyāyana. Some of them are of opinion that he is anterior to Pāṇini while others say that he came after Pāṇini. Of these scholars, Prof. Weber and

36. Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, pp. 120, 121.

Goldstücker, are to be mentioned in particular, because they have entered into a special controversy on the subject. Prof. Weber has established his theory proving that Kātyāyana belonged to a period proceeding Pāṇini while Goldstücker has tried his best by lengthy arguments to shake Prof. Weber's position, and to inaugurate his own doctrine: Kātyāyana is posterior to Pāṇini, and Kātyāyana has written his *Prātiśākhya* with the double aim of evolving a Vedic science and of passing criticisms on Pāṇini (and has also merely repeated the words of Pāṇini in order to attach his critical notes to them, merely for the purpose of improving on him). He has sought to assign the earliest date to Pāṇini. He has also tried in vain to identify Kātyāyana, (author of *Prātiśākhya*) with the author of *Vārtikas* on Pāṇini. In support of his theory he has illogically enumerated some statements which say that some of the Vedic rules of Pāṇini are not complete, because they stand in need of additions to be found in the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*. So according to his opinion, Kātyāyana has included some rules in his *Prātiśākhya* which are left out by Pāṇini, as he did in his *Mahāvārtika*. In order to arrive at this conclusion he has also picked up some portions from both the works, and tried to show they are in śeṣa-śeṣibhāva (the relation of primary and secondary) complementary one to the other. These statements of Goldstücker show his good acquaintance with both these works of Kātyāyana and Pāṇini but they are not sufficient evidence to fix up the date of Kātyāyana. For it is not impos-

sible to a scholar who has studied well the works of different authors in the same field to produce such comments. Moreover, his statements are illogically elliptical. As he has drawn intentionally special attention only to criticise the statements of Prof. Weber, his criticisms are very weak to throw any light in fixing up the date of Kātyāyana. A mere supposition, unsupported by any *proof*, that the Pāṇini's work is older than Kātyāyana's can certainly not justify the sweeping doubt which is levelled by Goldstücker against the work of Kātyāyana.

Of various reasons that have been given by Professor Weber to establish Pāṇini's anteriority to Kātyāyana, one point seems to be irrelevant to his conclusion. He says that several sūtras of the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* are found in Pāṇini in the same manner, and some with slight modification, hence, there is probability of Pāṇini's contact with Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya who has borrowed the sūtras from the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* for his work. This statement is not approvable, because such coincidences of the portions between several works of the same nature are not very uncommon. This statement can hardly prove such a conclusion. It is a well-known fact that such coincidences of the portions of a Prātiśākhya with the portions of other Prātiśākhyas and grammatical treatises, and of the portions of a grammatical treatise with the portions of the other grammatical treatises and Prātiśākhyas do occur. For instance compare the parallelisms between the following works: .

I.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya.

Pāṇini-sūtra.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Antyād varṇāt pūrva upadhā</i> , i. 35. | .. <i>Alo'ntyāt pūrva upadhā</i> , i. 1. 65. |
| 2. <i>De-ityagaratirthās sosmānah</i> , i. 54. | .. <i>Tulyasyaprayatnam savarṇam</i> , i. 1. 9. |
| 3. <i>Mukhanāśikākaranā'nuvāsikah</i> , i. 75. | .. <i>Mukhanāśikākaranā'nuvāsikah</i> , i. 1. 8. |
| 4. <i>Ekārekārokarā dvivacanāntāḥ (prag-
rhyam)</i> , i. 93. | .. <i>Jlūdeddvivacanam pragrhyam</i> , i. 1. 11. |
| 5. <i>Uccair udāttaḥ</i> , i. 108. | .. <i>Uccair udāttaḥ</i> , i. 2. 29. |
| 6. <i>Nicair anudāttaḥ</i> , i. 109. | .. <i>Nicair anudāttaḥ</i> , i. 2. 30. |
| 7. <i>Ubhayaṛāṇ svarītaḥ</i> , i. 110. | .. <i>Samāhāras svarītaḥ</i> , i. 2. 31. |
| 8. <i>Tasyādita udāttaṁ svarārdhamātram</i> ,
i. 126. | .. <i>Tasyādita udāttaṁ ardhahrasvam</i> , i.
2. 32. |
| 9. <i>Sāmajapanyūṅkhavarjāṁ</i> , i. 131. | .. <i>Yajñakarmanyajapanyūṅkhasāmasu</i> , i.
2. 34. |
| 10. <i>Tasmimṁ iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya</i> , i. 134. | .. <i>Tasmimṁ iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya</i> , i. 1. 66. |
| 11. <i>Tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ</i> , i. 135. | .. <i>Tasmād ity uttarasya</i> , i. 1. 67. |
| 12. <i>Ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā</i> , i. 136. | .. <i>Ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā</i> , i. 1. 49. |
| 13. <i>Varṇasyādarśanam lopah</i> , i. 141. | .. <i>Adarśanam lopah</i> , i. 1. 60. |
| 14. <i>Saṅkhyāntānām anudeśo jathāsamkha-
yam</i> , i. 143. | .. <i>Yathāsāṅkhyam anudeśas samānām</i> , i.
3. 10. |
| 15. <i>Ekādvarṇaḥ padam aprktaṁ</i> , i. 151. | .. <i>Aprkta eakāl pratyayah</i> , i. 2. 41. |

16.	<i>Ṛṣarephebhyo samānapade</i> , iii. 85.	<i>nakāro</i>	<i>nakāram</i> ..	<i>Raṣābhyaṁ no naṣ samānapade</i> , viii. 4. 1.
17.	<i>Takāro le lam</i> , iv. 13.		..	<i>Tor li</i> , viii. 4. 60.
18.	<i>Sandhyakṣaram ayavāyācam</i> , iv. 47.		..	<i>Eco'yavāyācāḥ</i> , vi. 1. 28.
19.	<i>Takāravargaś cakāravārga cakāravargam</i> , iv. 95.		..	<i>Stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ</i> , viii. 4. 40.
			II.	
		Kātyāyana-prātisākhya.		Taittirīya-prātisākhya. ³⁷
1.	<i>Aryavahitena vyāñjanasya</i> , i. 38.		..	<i>Akāravyaveto vyañjanānām</i> , i. 17.
2.	<i>Nānusevāyamarisarjanāyājihvāmūlāyopadhmanīyāḥ</i> , i. 41.		..	<i>Nā viśarjanāyājihvāmūlīyopadhmanīyānusevānāsikyānām</i> , i. 18.
3.	<i>Ra ephena ca</i> , i. 39.		..	<i>Ephas tu vasya</i> , i. 19.
4.	<i>Prathamagrahaṇe vargam</i> , i. 64.		..	<i>Prathamō vargottaro vargāḥkhyā</i> , i. 27.
5.	<i>Tam iti vikārah</i> , i. 133.		..	<i>Am vikārasya</i> , i. 28.
6.	<i>Deis tāvān dīrghaḥ</i> , i. 57.		..	<i>Deis tāvān dīrghaḥ</i> , i. 57.
7.	<i>Plutas triḥ</i> , i. 58.		..	<i>Triḥ plutaḥ</i> , i. 36.
8.	<i>Uccair udāttaḥ</i> , i. 108.		..	<i>Uccair udāttaḥ</i> , i. 38.
9.	<i>Nīcair anudāttaḥ</i> , i. 109.		..	<i>Nīcair anudāttaḥ</i> , i. 39.
10.	<i>Ekavarṇaḥ padam aprīṭam</i> , i. 151.		..	<i>Ekaravṇaḥ padam aprīṭaḥ</i> , i. 54.
11.	<i>Sq evādir antaś ca</i> , i. 152.		..	<i>Ādyantarac ca</i> , i. 55.
12.	<i>Varṇānām ekaprāṇayogaḥ saṁhitā</i> , i. 158.		..	<i>Atha saṁhitāyām ekaprāṇabhāve</i> , v. 1.

37. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 1, Edited by Pandit V. Venkataramasharma.

13. *Takāro le lam*, iv. 13. .. *Laparo lakāram*, v. 26.
 14. *Nuś cānunāsikam*, iv. 14. .. *Nakāro'numāsikam*.
 15. *Śrīmanā ity eke*, iii. 92. .. *Nṛśrīpūro manāḥ*, vii. 2.
 16. *Sarvo akāra okāram*, iv. 42. .. *Okāram as sarvo'kāraparah*, ix. 7.
 17. *Udāttāc cānudāttam svarītam*, iv. 135... .. *Udāttāt paro'nudāttāḥ svarītam*, xiv. 29.

III.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya.

Atharva-prātiśākhya.³⁸

1. *Tasyādita udāttam svarārḍhamātram*,... .. *Svarītas-yādito nātrārḍham udāttam*, i. 17.
 2. *Dvītyacaturthās soṣmāṇaḥ*, i. 54. .. *Dvītyacaturthās soṣmāṇaḥ*, i. 10.
 3. *Samyogādīḥ pūrvasya*, i. 102. .. *Samyogādī pūrvasya*.
 4. *Mūrdhanyāḥ prativēṣṭyāgram*, i. 78. .. *Mūrdhanyānām jīhvāgram prativēṣṭitam*, i. 22.
 5. *Uccair udāttāḥ*, i. 108. .. *Uccair udāttam*, i. 14.
 6. *Nīcair anudāttāḥ*, i. 109. .. *Nīcair anudāttam*, i. 15.
 7. *Svaro'kṣaram*, i. 99. .. *Svaro'kṣaram*, i. 93.
 8. *Antyāt varṇāt pūrvā upadhā*, i. 35. .. *Varṇāt antyāt pūrvā upadhā*, i. 92.
 9. *Ṛṣarebhyo nakāro ṇakāram samāna-*... .. *Ṛṇarephasakārebhyaḥ samānapade*, iii. 85.
 pade, iii. 85.

³⁸. Edited by Prof. Whitney.

If we begin to judge relying upon mere coincidences without any further support they will lead us to decide anteriority to a work which is proved later by other material proofs, and posteriority to a work which is proved earlier by other evidences.

On the other hand, a scholar who is well versed in both the works of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana will feel from the style and construction, that Pāṇini's work originated at a time when the grammatical literature came to be fully developed among Hindus, while the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* marks an earlier stage in the history of the same literature. Pāṇini himself states his acquaintance with several early grammarians, of whom ten are mentioned by name and four are left without names.³⁹ It was also possible to him to compose the sūtras in a peculiar enigmatic form with full abridgement after considering the early works of previous authors in the field. By the nature of his construction, there is a popular saying related of Pāṇini "*mātrālābhaḥ putralābho dākṣīputrasya pāṇineḥ*", that Pāṇini, son of Dākṣī rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son".

This peculiar cryptic or enigmatic form of construction cannot be seen in the previous works because they represent the early stage of grammar-

39. (1) Śākalya; (2) Śākaṭāyana; (3) Gārgya; (4) Bhāradvāja; (5) Āpiśali; (6) Kāśyapa; (7) Sphoṭāyana; (8) Cākra-varmaṇa; (9) Senaka; (10) Gālava. The others four are: (1) Prācām; (2) Udīcām; (3) Ācāryānām; and (4) Ekeṣām.

tical literature. Pāṇini has also adopted certain methods by the introduction of anubandhas, Dhātupāṭha, Gaṇa-pāṭha, Śikṣā and Līṅgānuśāsana etc., which were very helpful to his plan of construction of the main grammatical treatise in such a curtailment. Moreover, the circumstances under which Pāṇini's grammar was composed were also very favourable for such a construction differing solely from the older works in the field. His grammar made an epoch in Indian literature. It superseded all other works current till that time. It has exercised the ingenuity of a countless number of followers, and is the first complete systematic treatise on the grammatical science. It displays highly developed enquiries concerning language, and is mentioned everywhere as a great authority not only for the last two thousand years, but also even to-day his word has been an unchallenged law in India on all questions related to the grammar of the language.

With regard to the observations of dialectic variations of pronunciation and of forms of words which are described perfectly and systematically in the earlier works, we see that Pāṇini is silent, because it is evident that the system of the work of Pāṇini precludes insertion of such matter, owing to their unanimous standardisation in the earlier treatises.

In this connection it will be interesting to note the remarks made by Dr. Burnell on Pāṇini's innovations, who classifies them under four main heading, as follows:

(1) The invention of Śiva-sūtras and of the use Pratyāhāras for groups of terminations; also the extensive use of gaṇas,

(2) the invention of a new system of anubandhas,

(3) the invention or exact use of several technical terms, and

(4) the use of a technical syntax and a more elaborate system of sūtras.

Pāṇini's grammar is constructed mainly under these four technical systems, and these systems enable us to understand how far they are advanced from the systems of his predecessors.

If we examine the treatises of later authors than Pāṇini like the Vyākaraṇa-sūtras of king Bhoja, (a work not yet published, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras), we can find that they are constructed in a more curtailed form because the authors of such works had a chance of being acquainted with Pāṇini's works also.

For instance the *Jinendra-vyākaraṇa* which is more recent than Pāṇini has improved much on Pāṇini in the arrangement of Śiva-sūtras, in making some sūtras more precise and in technical terms. The *Bhāṇḍīra-bhāṣā* is also a grammar of a fictitious Prākṛt dialect, which still exists, and written in sūtras with a Sanskrit commentary.⁴⁰ It begins with

40. There are four copies of this specimen of Indian pedantry in the Palace Library at Tanjore. The date of the composition is not ascertainable. But the commentary mentions Pāṇiniya, Kau-

modified Śiva-sūtras reduced to eight. So we have to conclude that if Kātyāyana must have seen the work of Pāṇini, he might not have written his *Prātiśākhya* in this manner, he could have finished his work with the two-third bulk of the present length of the work. On the other hand, we see in the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* that the *gaṇa* is enunciated in several aphorisms “*Kaṇṭhyād ivarṇa ekāram*” (IV. 53), “*Uvarṇa okāram*” (IV. 54), etc., when Pāṇini has laid down the same rule by one *gaṇa-sūtra*: “*Ād gaṇah*” (Pāṇini, VI. 1. 87). Such incidences are not uncommon with Kātyāyana. Again, Kātyāyana calls the letter ‘a’ as *kaṇṭhya-svara* in several places when Pāṇini has not used any special term for it. Whenever so many words go under the same rule, Pāṇini throws all such words into a group or *gaṇa*, and mentioning the first word of that *gaṇa* with *ādi*, thus he makes the rule applying to all the words. Pāṇini terms the *ka*-mute-series as *ku*, while Kātyāyana speaks of *ka-kāra-varga*. In this direction Kātyāyana is a mechanic, because he mentions all such words in the *sūtras*. For instance: III. 82, 87, 98, 108, 130, 151; IV. 64, 74, 75, 77, 84. I have given here only some of the instances, but in this manner it is easy to find out many places.

Dr. Burnell has also established his theory stating the existence of a pre-Pāṇinean grammatical system, solely depending on the system of the

māra, Kātyāyanīya, and Jinendra grammars. Probably the text can be put down as belonging to some period between 1200 and 1700 A.C.

Aindra grammar, which is entirely different from the system of Pāṇini. He also describes that the Prātisākhyas can be included among the Aindra system of grammatical treatises, and shows three stages in the history of Sanskrit grammar: (1) the primitive, natural (Aindra) system; (2) Pāṇini's artificial system; and (3) modern adaptations of Pāṇini's system made in historic times. According to this division the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* occupies a prominent place in the first stage.⁴¹

Prof. Liechich also has said⁴² that the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* precedes Pāṇini, and this opinion seems to be a correct one: the crude verbosity of the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* seems to be primitive as compared with the concise style of Pāṇini.

In Kātyāyana's Prātisākhya a rule is ascribed to Śaunaka, which might have been taken from the *Cāturādhyāyikā*, and it leads one to think that Kātyāyana's Prātisākhya is prior to the *Atharva-veda-prātisākhya*. The rule ascribed to Śaunaka by Kātyāyana is "*Asasthāne mudī dvitīyam śaunakasya*", IV. 120, which defines that a final tenuis, if followed by a sibilant of a different class, is changed into the aspirate, whereas according to the *Cāturādhyāyikā* (II. 1. 6.), a tenuis followed by a sibilant of its own class, would have to be aspirated. So Kātyāyana would write—*saṃyak*

41. Burnell. *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, 1875. Appendix A, p. 106.

42. *Zur Einföhr, in die ind. Sprachw.* II. pp. 38, 45, 46.

sravanti, anuṣṭup śārādī; and according to *Cāturādhyāyikā*—*saṃyakh sravanti, anuṣṭuph śārādī*. So it may be accepted, that no such rule as that ascribed by Kātyāyana to Śaunaka is found in the *Śākala*—(*Rk*-)*prātiśākhya*, and, in other respects also the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* shows traces of more modern origin than the *Cāturādhyāyikā* of the *Atharva-veda*.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya and Atharva-prātiśākhya—Siddheśvara Varman has expressed his view that the definite starting point for the chronology of the *Prātiśākhya* works is the date of Patañjali (150 B.C.), and the definite ending point is the date of Yāska (500 B.C.). Among the *Prātiśākhyas* the one related to the *Atharva* and that of the *Śukla-yajus*, belong to the same period. He observes: “As regards the *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, Weber is of opinion that it is ‘the most systematic and therefore the latest of the *Prātiśākhyas*’. But it should be borne in mind that in spite of its superior treatment it does not seem to be much later than *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*. In fact, there are indications that its kernel was possibly even earlier than the *Vāj. Prāt.* For, firstly, it points out in the very beginning its traditional object as a *Prātiśākhya*, viz., the relation of Pada and the *Samhitā Pāṭha*. The *Vāj. Prāt.*, however, mentions its object as being the treatment of ‘accent and sandhi (*saṃskāra*)’—indicating a little deflection atleast from the way of putting the traditional object. And, secondly, the *Vāj. Prāt.*, attributes to Śaunaka, the opinion that a plosive followed by

a fricative (of a different class) becomes a breathed aspirated consonant—e.g., in *samyakh-sravanti*. Now this rule (without, however, the reservation of a different class) occurs in the *Ath. Prāt.* and as tradition ascribes the authorship of the *Ath. Prāt.* to Śaunaka, it is not unlikely that the *Vāj. Prāt.* refers here to the *Ath. Prāt.* Nor can this opinion be referred to Śaunaka, the traditional author of the *Ṛk. Prāt.*, for there it is spoken of as 'the opinion of some authorities'. It is probable, therefore, that the *Ath. Prāt.* and the *Vāj. Prāt.* were nearly contemporaries".⁴³

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya as described by Prof. Weber—⁴⁴"The *Prātiśākhya-sūtra* of the White Yajus, as well as its *Anukramaṇi*, names at its close Kātyāyana as its author. In the body of the work, there is mention, first, of three grammarians, whom we also find cited in the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Ṛk.*, in Yāska, and in Pāṇini, viz., Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya and Gārggya; next, of Kāśyapa, likewise mentioned by Pāṇini; and, lastly, of Dālhbhya, Jātūkarnya, Śaunaka (the author of the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya*?), Aupaśavi, Kāṇva and the Mādhyandinas. The distinction in I. 18, 19, between *veda* and *bhaṣya*,⁴⁵

43. *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*. S. Varman. 1929. pp. 20-27.

44. *The History of Indian Literature* by Prof. Weber, translated in English by John Mann and Theoder Zachariae. Trübners Oriental Series, 1892.

45. Here, Prof. Weber considers the words 'vedeṣu' and 'bhāṣeṣu' which are found in contradistinction to one another (*K. Pr.* i. 18, 19) as corresponding to 'chandasi' and 'bhāṣāyām' of Pāṇini and *Taitt. Pr.*, and 'anvadhyaṇa' and 'bhāṣā' of Yāska,

i.e., works in *bhāṣā*,—which corresponds to the use of the latter word in Pāṇini,—has already been mentioned. The first of the eight *adhyāyas* contains the *saṃjñas* and *paribhāṣas*, i.e., technical terms and general preliminary 'remarks. The second adhy. treats of the accent; the third, fourth, and fifth of *saṃskāra*, i.e., of loss, addition, alteration and constancy of the letters with reference to the laws of euphony; the sixth of the accent of the verb in the sentence, etc.; the eighth contains a table of the vowels and consonants, lays down rules on the manner of reading (*svādhyāya*), and gives a division of words corresponding to that of Yāska. Here, too, several *ślokas* are quoted referring to the deities of the letters and words, so that I am almost inclined to consider this last *adhyāya* (which is, moreover, strictly speaking, contained in the first) as a later addition. We have an excellent com-

and interprets the word 'bhāṣya' as works in *bhāṣā*. It should be noted here that the word is not in use in the above sense, but it is applied only to some works which come under the following definition—

“*Sūtrārtho varṇyate yena padais sūtrānusāribhiḥ |*
Śvapaḍāni ca varṇyante bhāṣyam bhāṣyavido viduḥ. ||”

Māgha, (who is known as the son of Dattaka-sarvāśraya, and is placed somewhere in the latter part of the seventh century A.C., on the basis of an inscription which belongs to a certain King Varmalāta (A.C. 625), whose minister was Suprabha-deva the grandfather of Māgha, and who is known in Mss. as Varmalākhyā Varmalāta, etc.,) the celebrated author of the poem *Śiśupālavadha* presents the description of the *bhāṣya* in one of his verses, in the following manner—

“*Samkṣiptasyāpyato'syaiva vākyasyārthagariyasaḥ |*
Suvistaratarā vāco bhāṣyabhūtā bhavantu me. ||”

And, it is not possible exactly, in what sense Kātyāyana has used the word 'bhāṣya' in his *Prātiśākhya*.

mentary on this work by Uvvaṭa, who has been repeatedly mentioned, under the title of 'mātrmodaka' ''.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya as described by Prof. Müller—"The (*Vājasaneyi*-)*prātiśākhya* is ascribed to the *sākhā* of *Mādhyandinas*, one of the sub-divisions of the *Vājasaneyins*; though, perhaps, on the same grounds as those stated above with regard to the *Śākala-prātiśākhya*, it might seem more correct to call it the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Kātyāyanas*, a subdivision of the *Mādhyandinas*. It was composed by *Kātyāyana*, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities. There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why *Kātyāyana*, the author of the *Prātiśākhya*, should not be the same as *Kātyāyana*, the contemporary and critic of *Pāṇini*. It is true that *Pāṇini*'s rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas. The Vedic idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas *Kātyāyana*'s *Prātiśākhya* seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the *Ṛṣis*. This, however, is not quite the case. *Kātyāyana* himself alludes to the fact that there were atleast two languages. 'There are two words,' he says (I. 17), '*Om* and *atha*, both used in the beginning of a chapter; but *Om* is used in the Vedas, *atha* in the *Bhāṣyas*'. As *Kātyāyana* himself writes in the *Bhāṣya* or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed rules on the grammar of the profane Sans.

krit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vedic idiom.

Some of Kātyāyana's sūtras are now found repeated *ipsissimis verbis* in Pāṇini's grammar. This might seem strange; but we know that not all the sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came from Pāṇini himself, and it is most likely that Kātyāyana, in writing his supplementary notes to Pāṇini, simply repeated some of his Prātiśākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called vārtikas became part of the text of Pāṇini."⁴⁶

Dr. Burnell on the Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya—
“In addition to the reasons already given for believing that the *R̥gveda* and *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* are not preserved in their original form, and which apply equally to the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*, there is, in the case of this last and of the *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, positive proof that they have been brought into their present form at a period later than Pāṇini; for they show an acquaintance with the anubandhas he uses, and which, Patañjali says, were invented by him.

Thus we find in *tin* (I. 27), *ān* (VI. 24?), *luk* (III. 13), *lup* (?) (I. 114), *et* and *ot* (I. 114), as indicated by Prof. Weber, and the first alone of these, *tin*, is sufficient to place this Prātiśākhya after Pāṇini, as was pointed out by Goldstücker.

Prof. Weber also pointed out the close connection between the wording of the sūtras in this

46. Müller. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, pp. 138, 139.

Prātiśākhya as compared with Pāṇini's, and Prof. Goldstücker attempted by a minute criticism to show not only that Kātyāyana to whom this Prātiśākhya is attributed is the same person as the author of the criticisms on Pāṇini's Sūtras, but also that he wrote the former before the latter.

He assigns two reasons for this view: (1) that the Vārttikas merely include criticisms on sūtras of Pāṇini which were not noticed in the Prātiśākhya, and (2) that some of the Vārttikas are obvious improvements on sūtras in the Prātiśākhya. But an enquiry of this nature is hardly possible at present, nor will it be so for a long time to come.

Prof. Weber considers that chapter VII and VIII are accretions to the original text; they are obviously intended to make the text one of more general application. This Prātiśākhya appears to have originally been intended for Kāṇva recension of the *White Yajur-veda*, but now includes references to the Mādhyandina recension also."⁴⁷

Uvvaṭa's commentary—The author of the commentary on the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* is Uvvaṭa, son of Jayyaṭa who lived at Ānandapura (Benares). This commentary is neither a short treatise, nor a very exhaustive one. It is written with great care to avoid the use of unnecessary words. Uvvaṭa has adopted certain principles (vyākhyādharmas) to write his commentary. He narrates the meaning of the sūtra-text. by

47. Vide *The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians* by A.C. Burnell, pp. 86, 87. 1875.

simple words, and explains the same by illustrations and counter-illustrations by which one can easily and clearly understand the idea of the text portion. Whenever any doubts about the *prima facie* argument or view of a question or objections, incidentally arise, he replies to them in a suitable way and gives correct explanations to the text, and arrives at a definite conclusion. Uvvaṭa is also the author of the commentary on the *R̥g-veda-prātiśākhya*, and he has not made any comparative statements on the corresponding subjects of both the works. He occasionally refers to Śaunaka⁴⁸ in some places in support of his opinion. He specially mentions (1) the sūtras which are not very useful to the context, (2) the subjects connected with grammar and Śikṣā works and (3) the rules, for which the illustrations are not procurable from the Saṃhitā text, in his commentary. He criticises the correctness and absurdities of the text portion without partiality and respects the author of the Prātiśākhya by producing reasonable answers and explanations in solving some textual problems, which may, at first sight, seem inapplicable and nonsensical. Uvvaṭa has taken some examples from the texts of other schools (śākhāntara) to illustrate some of the rules of the Prātiśākhya, but he does not mention that they belong to the texts of other schools. Paṇḍit Yugala-kīśoraśarma, in the foot-note of his edition⁴⁹ of the *Śukla-yajur-veda-prātiśākhya*, has mentioned that these illustrations belong to other schools, without

48. See Prātiśākhya, Sūtra, IV. 17.

49. Benares edition. 1888.

any specification, which is not possible without securing all the texts, some of which are lost to us. In the same foot-note he has also made comparative statements, in some places, which are mostly connected with Śikṣā and Prātiśākhya works.

There is no information about the existence of any other old commentary on this Prātiśākhya, hitherto published, except Uvvaṭa's one. But in some places, as Uvvaṭa has cited many differences of opinion, it tends to prove that there must have existed some other commentaries also on this treatise.

“*Varṇascarūpajñāpanārtham idam (sūtram).
Samjñārtham ity apare.*”⁵⁰

Anantadeva-yājñika, in his *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭā-bhāṣya* has mentioned some bhāṣyakāras (authors of commentary), which runs as follows:

“*Āta evoktam bharṭṛyajñapitr̥bhaktivāsudeva-
karkopādhyāyadevayājñikādibhir̥ bhāṣyakāraiḥ.*”⁵¹

Though Anantadeva does not specify about these commentators to particular works, it is guessed that some among these must have written bhāṣya on Prātiśākhya also. Uvvaṭa in so many places of his bhāṣya has quoted several authors in support of his conclusions on the text, but generally he has not given the name of such authors, from whom he has extracted them. These quotations fall under the following headings:

50. Uvvaṭa, I. 89. See also IV. 121, 127.

51. Kaṇḍikā I, sūtra, 3.

- (1) *Tathā coktam* (IV. 176; V. 45; VI. 24; VIII. 18).
- (2) *Evam hy āhuḥ* (III. 20).
- (3) *Uktam ca* (IV. 104).
- (4) *Īha ca* (IV. 176).
- (5) *Anye tu* (V. 38).
- (6) *Tathā coktam aujjihāyanakair mādhyan-*
dinamatānusāribhiḥ (I. 120).
- (7) *Aujjihāyanakair idam uktam* (IV. 137).
- (8) *Tathā cāha Śaunakāḥ* (IV. 17).
- (9) *Tathā hi vaiyākaraṇāḥ* (IV. 146).
- (10) *Tathā coktam Yājñavalkyena* (IV. 163).
- (11) *Uktam ca bhāṣyakāreṇa* (IV. 181).
- (12) *Pāṇiniḥ* (V. 38).

In some places he discusses the subject connected with grammar,⁵² and rarely extracts passages from Sarvānukramaṇi also.

This bhāṣya of Uvvaṭa to the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* is styled as MĀTRMODA. The following sentence is to be seen at the end of the third chapter:

“*Ānandapuravāstavyavajraṭasūnunū Uvvaṭe-*
na kṛte mātṛmodākhye prātiśākhyanirmalabhāṣye
tr̥tīyo'dhyāyās samāptah.”

Probably Uvvaṭa might have worked under the patronage of the famous scholar-sovereign ‘King Bhoja’ of Malwa. He himself speaks that he

⁵². Uvvaṭa, III. 58, 85; IV. 146; VI. 24, etc.

belonged to Ānandapura, which according to Smith⁵³ is a principality under Malwa. The date of king Bhoja is settled⁵⁴ as 1018 A.C., therefore Uvvaṭa might have lived about the eleventh century A.C.

As the name of the work Mātrmoda (pleasure of mother) is unfavourable to the subject-matter, it can be assumed that Uvvaṭa has composed this commentary as desired by his mother, who might have been well-versed in Vedic literature, and given the above name as a token of the dedication made to her, by him.

Commentary by Ananta-bhaṭṭa—There exists another commentary to this Prātiśākhya by one Ananta-bhaṭṭa. This commentary is hitherto not published, and a transcript of this has been preserved, in the Adyar Library, Madras. It is a later work than Uvvaṭa's bhāṣya written in a lucid style, and follows closely the Uvvaṭa-bhāṣya. Ananta-bhaṭṭa has not stated anything special which is left out by Uvvaṭa, nor does he mention Uvvaṭa as his previous commentator, as Mahīdhara mentions his indebtedness towards the ancient commentators. But Ananta-bhaṭṭa occasionally points out the difference in the readings of the two recensions the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva. The scholar who is familiar with Uvvaṭa-bhāṣya and Ananta-bhaṭṭa-bhāṣya, may think that the former is the basic-work of the latter, and that the latter is a mere paraphrase of the former. In

53. *The Early History of India*, p. 342.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

most places Ananta-bhaṭṭa cites the very same illustrations which are given in Uvvaṭa-bhāṣya, but occasionally he illustrates the rules with new examples also. At the beginning of the work there is an introduction covering two to three pages, in which Ananta-bhaṭṭa discusses to what text of the particular recension the present treatise belongs; at last he comes to the conclusion that Kātyāyana's treatise is a work common to all 15 recensions. To a scholar of the Prātiśākhya-literature the difference between Uvvaṭa's commentary and Ananta-bhaṭṭa's, will appear similar to that between the *Tribhāṣya-ratna* and the *Vaidikābharṇa*, or between the *Vaidikābharṇa* and *Vaidika-bhūṣaṇa*, commentaries on the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*. This commentary of Ananta-bhaṭṭa is called 'Padārtha-prakāśa' (exposition of categories).

The following is the closing portion of the Ananta-bhaṭṭa-bhāṣya :

“*Vedavedāṅgaviduṣānantabhaṭṭena sādaram|*
Pareṣām upakārāya bhāṣitam prātiśākhyakam||
Ambā bhāgīrathī yasya nāgadevātmaṃ sudhīh|
Tenānantena racitam prātiśākhyasya varṇanam||

* * * *

*Srīmatprathamāśākhinū nāgadevabhaṭṭātmaṃ
 srīmad-ananta-bhaṭṭena viracite srīmat-kātyāya-
 napraṇīta-prātiśākhyasūtra-bhāṣye padārthapra-
 kāśe aṣṭamo'dhyāyas samāptaḥ.”*

Ananta-bhaṭṭa belongs to Kāṇva recension. In this extract the second verse is found in the *Bhāṣika-*

pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya and in the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa-bhāṣya*. So, it is possible to judge that the same Anantadeva is the author of these three works. We also hear the name of Ananta as the author of the commentary on the *Sukla-yajus-sarvānukramaṇi* and some minor treatises described in the last chapter, but we have no sufficient evidence to identify him with the author of *Padārtha-prakāśa*.

In 1857, Prof. Whitney has in a letter⁵⁵ to Prof. Weber given a short description of *Padārtha-prakāśa*. In that letter Prof. Whitney has wrongly read the word Ananta-bhaṭṭa as Annambhaṭṭa. The letter is appended herewith:

“October 31st, 1857.

I have a complete ms. of the text of the VS. Pr:—another of the text with the commentary of Uvvaṭa, also complete:—another of the commencement of the same as far as rule 9 of adhyāya II:—and yet one more of the text with the commentary of Annambhaṭṭa as far as the end of the first adhyāya. The first has the appearance of an old manuscript and is written by Ghanaśyāma in ṣaḍaṣṭāṣṭimite śāke, which I cannot quite decipher: but I fear it is quite incorrect:—the second is an extremely incorrect modern copy, without date:—the third is old, a little damaged, also without date, being a fragment:—the fourth much of the same character, less correct, yet almost everywhere, I should think, intelligible: the end of it with the concluding rule of the adhyāya is

55. Vide *Indische Studien* Vol. IV, page 332-333, under heading “Correspondenzen”, 1858.

wanting so that it is impossible to tell whether this ms. ever went beyond the end of the first adhyāya. As an indication of its character I append the various readings it offers in the rules of the adhyāya: rule 4 *syād vāmnāyadharmivāc*—8 *saṃkaro-pakitaḥ*:—16 *omkāras svādhyāyādau*:—23 *ṛtum prāpya rātrau*:—35 *varṇamātrāt*:—65 *riḥkau*, and placed after 66:—70 *uvaupopadhmānīyā oṣṭhe*:—110 amended to *ubhavān*:—111 *nipūrvah*:—113 *nisvaraparāḥ*:—114 *lug*:—127 *sapta* only:—146 omits *padam*:—Prefixed is an introduction of five ślokas as follows:

Vande viṣṇum cidānandam bhaktakalpamahīruham|
Yacchāyam āśritair labhyam narair arthacatuṣṭa-
yam||1||

Yājñavalkyamunim natvā kātyāyanamunīn api|
Sumaṅgalādikāṃś cāpi vande vidyāgurūn mama||2||
Vedavedāṅgatattvajño' nnaṃbhaṭṭa iti śrutaḥ|
Vyākhyāsyāmi prātiśākyam kātyāyanamunīri-
tam||3||

Samastakāṇvaśākhibhyo mūrdhanyeṣo' űjalir mayā|
Badhyate, macchramam drṣṭvā kṛpām kurvantu me
(te,) mayi||4||

Udāharaṇavākyāni dīyante

kāṇva-śākhinām|

Alābhe parakīyāṇi

sūtrakārānuśāsanāt||5||

Then follows an introduction of a couple of pages on the subject of the schools to which the Prātiśākhya applies: and the conclusion arrived at is: *tasmāt siddham kāṇvādi-pañcadaśaśākhāsv ekam eva prātiśākyam iti*. The Prātiśākhya of

Āśvalāyana is spoken of just before. I have not carefully studied or compared the commentary with that of Uvvaṭa, but wherever I have done so, the coincidence is very close: it is almost just the same thing phrased a little differently.”

The commentary Vivaraṇa—There is ample evidence to show that there was in existence another commentary to this Prātiśākhya called *Prātiśākhya-vivaraṇa*. Anantadeva-yājñika in his commentary on the seventh aphorism, section one, of the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa* mentions this, and quotes a few lines from it as follows:

“*Eteṣām svaritabhedānām hastapradarśanam tu ‘svaritasya cottaro deśaḥ prañihanyate’ (K. Pr. IV. 138) iti sūtre prātiśākhyavivaraṇe spaṣṭam. Tad yathā:*

‘*Udāttād anudātte tu vāmāyā bhruva ārabhet | Udāttāt svaritodātte kramād dakṣiṇato nyaset*’ ||
Pranighātaḥ prakṛṣṭo nighātaḥ. Nīcatām atitarām manuṣyādānavad hasto nyubjāparaparyāyāḥ. Keśu- cid bhedeṣu pitṛdānavad ityādi.”

The above extract is to be found neither in the Uvvaṭa’s published commentary nor in the unpublished one, so that the ‘*Vivaraṇa*’ cannot be either of these. In this extract the author of the *Vivaraṇa* interprets the aphorism quoted therein, as indicating the circumflex accents by the different postures of the body. But this interpretation of the author seems to be against the context indicated by the preceding and following aphorisms. Uvvaṭa and Anantadeva-yājñika have on the other hand

explained the rule that when the acute or circumflex accent follows the latter part of the preceding circumflex, it should be sounded in a further lower pitch. Except this fact nothing further is known about the *Vivarāṇa* or its author. *

*Commentary by Rāmacandra—Prātiśākhya-jyotsnā*⁵⁶—The existence of this commentary on the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* is known only from the citations, in other works. Dr. A. C. Burnell in his work *The Aindra*⁵⁷ *School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, observes: “Another commentary (*Prātiśākhya-jyotsnā*) is quite recent, viz., of the end of the last or beginning of this century. It is by one Rāmacandra son of Siddheśvara. A section of it has been published by Thibaut (Das *Jaṭāpātala*, 1870, pp. 36-53).” In *Prātiśākhya-pradīpaśikṣā* this commentary is cited in two or three places. Rāmacandra is the author of two other works also: *Vedasūtraparibhāṣāśikṣā* and *Vedaparibhāṣākārikāśikṣā*.⁵⁸

56. Weil, Director der Orientalischen Abteilung, Berlin, informs about a manuscript of this work under date 27th November 1929 as follows:

“The *prātiśākhya-jyotsnā* * * quoted by Thibaut in his *Jaṭāpātala* page 9, stands in the Oriental Department of our Library under the number 590 of the Manuscripta Orientalia folio. It is a well preserved quite modern manuscript of the size 32×20, 5 cm. the written set in it 24, 5×14, 5 cm. It is described in the well-known catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of A. Weber Vol. 2, page 54, number 1463. The sūtras are composed according to their content, not according to the order of the text. Some of them are absolutely left out, but with others the work contains numerous additions, relating to the subject.”

57. Published at Manglore, 1875, page 49.

58. Vide *Śikṣāsaṃgraha*, Benares edn., 1893, pp. 306-326.

Prātiśākhya-pradīpaśikṣā —The *Prātiśākhya-pradīpikāśikṣā* by Bālakṛṣṇa also can be treated as a commentary to the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*, because it comments most of the *Prātiśākhya-sūtras*, though in a different arrangement.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya as edited by Prof. Weber—Prof. Weber has published an edition of this *Prātiśākhya* in Roman letters. It contains the whole *sūtra* text of *Kātyāyana* with German translation and explanation and comparative citations from parallel treatises (other *Prātiśākhya*-works). Passages from *Uvvaṭa's* commentary are also extracted. This edition appeared in 1858 as part I and II of the *Indische Studien* Vol. IV, (pp. 65-160, 177-331), the part I containing the first two chapters of the work, and the part II the remaining chapters. Professor Weber has edited this work with the help of several manuscripts among which the one which is designated by him as 'A' divides each chapter into several *khaṇḍas* or short-sections. I have been able to go through only the second part of the work. I note below the particular places of the chapters III-VIII of the work, where each *khaṇḍa* ends.

Chap. III. Sū. 19, 37, 53, 78, 94, 127 and 150.

Chap. IV. Sū. 25, 44, 60, 80, 96, 116, 148, 164.

Chap. V. Sū. 23, 36.

Chap. VI. Sū. 10, 24.

Chap. VIII. 40 (*Athāpi bhavati*,) 57 (*Catur-daśa nipātā*).

SELECTED NOTES

Goldstucker's Pāṇini, and His place in Sanskrit Literature. page 149 to 161 (1914).

"In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātiśākhya-sūtras, not only as posterior to Pāṇini's grammar, but to Pāṇini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pāṇini. It consists in applying the standard of the notion of *grammar* to both categories of works, and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātiśākhyas than to Pāṇini's work, into categories of time—priority and posteriority. An analogous fallacy would be too apprent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different nature and character. It may assume, however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility if it be applied to works of a similar category.

I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Muller's own words, as before quoted, that the term *vyākaraṇa*, grammar, though constantly and *emphatically* given to Pāṇini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a *Prātiśākhya* work¹.

1. I may here observe that the full title of Patañjali's commentary is not simply *Mahābhāṣya*, but *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya*. The end, for instance, of a chapter in the sixth book of the great commentary runs thus: *iti śrīmadbhagavat-patañjaliviracite vyākaraṇamahābhāṣye ṣaṣṭhādhyāyasya dvitīya-pāde prathamāhnikam*.

This circumstance, however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked. Tradition, from immemorial times, as every one knows, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it—the *Vedāṅga* works. One of them is the *Vyākaraṇa*. The *Prātiśākhya*s do not belong to them. Thus, tradition even in India—and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of the Vaidik Literature, those works which *apparently* stand in the closest relation to it,—which have no other object than that of treating of Vaidik texts of the *Samhitās*;—but it has canonized Pāṇini's *Vyākaraṇa*, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than that of the sacred hymns. Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that tradition would have taken this course if it had looked upon these *Prātiśākhya*s as prior to the work of Pāṇini?

But this question will receive a more direct answer if we compare the aim and the contents of both these classes of works. *Vyākaraṇa* means “*un-doing*”, *i.e.*, analysis, and Pāṇini's grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis: it *un-does* words and *un-does* sentences which consists of words; it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix, and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both; it examines the relation, in sentences, of one word to another, and likewise unfolds all the linguistic phenomena which are inseparable from the meeting of words.

The *Prātiśākhya*s have no such aim, and their contents consequently differ materially from those of the *Vyākaraṇa*. Their object is merely the ready-made word,

or base, in the condition in which it is fit to enter into a sentence, or into composition with another base, and more especially the ready-made word or base, as part of a Vaidik hymn. These works are no wise concerned in analyzing or explaining the nature of a word or base; they take them, such as they occur in the Pada text, and teach the changes which they undergo when they become part of the spoken sentence, *i.e.*, of the spoken hymn. And the consequence implied by these latter words entails, moreover, on the Prātiśākhya the duty of paying especial attention to all the phenomena which accompany the *spoken* words; hence they deal largely with the facts of pronunciation, accent, and the particular mode of sounding a syllable or word in connection with ritual acts.

The brief comparison will already have hinted at the point of contact which exists between Pāṇini and other authors of these Prātiśākhya works. Leaving aside the wider range of the domain of the former, and the narrower field of the Vaidik pursuits of the latter, we may at once infer that both will meet on the ground of phonetic rules, of accentuation, and of the properties of sound; but we shall likewise infer that any other comparison between both would be as irrelevant as if we compared Pāṇini with Suśruta, or the Prātiśākhya with the Jyotiṣa.

The aim of both categories of works being entirely different, there is neither a logical nor a historical necessity, nor does there exist a fact or a circumstance which would enable us to conclude, from the absence in these Prātiśākhya of certain grammatical matter, that their authors were not as much conversant with it as Pāṇini, who treats of it, because it is his object, and therefore his duty, to treat of it.

These facts being beyond the reach of doubt, we may again raise an *a-priori* question whether it is more probable that the *plan* of Pāṇini's work preceded in time the *plan* of a Prātiśākhya work, or the reverse?

Throughout a great portion of his admirable introduction to Pāṇini, Patañjali endeavours to impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness. He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred text; that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,—in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and correct use made of words, and, as a consequence, on the study of Pāṇini.

Here, then, we have a distinct definition of the relation of Pāṇini to the Vaidik texts,—a distinct statement of the causes which have produced the *Vyākaraṇa*. And what do they show else, than that Pāṇini must have stood in the midst of a *living* religion, of a creed which understood itself, or at least had still the vigour to try to understand itself?

In Pāṇini there is organism and life. In the Prātiśākhyas there is mechanism and death. They do not care for the sense of a word. A word *antaḥ*, for instance, is to them merely a combination of five sounds, nothing else; for whether it represent the nominative of *anta*, "end," or the adverb *antar*, "between," is perfectly indifferent to them. The rule of Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya on this word (II. 26) is, therefore, as dreary as a grammatical rule could ever be imagined to be, and the critical remarks which Professor Weber has attached to

this rule merely prove that, on this occasion, also he beats the air.

It does not follow, as I have before observed, that, because linguistic death reigns in these Sūtras, Kātyāyana or their other authors must have been as ignorant of grammar as it would seem if these works made any claim to be grammars at all. It merely follows that, in the period in which they were written, there existed a class of priests who had to be drilled into a proper recital of the sacred texts; and it may follow, too, that this set of men had none of the spirit, learning, and intelligence, which Patañjali would wish to find in a man who practices religious rites.

In other words, it seems to me that between Pāṇini's living grammar and these dead Prātiśākhya, there lies a space of time sufficient to create a want, of which a very insignificant trace is perhaps perceptible in some of Pāṇini's Vaidik rules, but which must have been irresistible at the period of the Prātiśākhya works.

In substantiating with material proofs the priority of Pāṇini's work, I may dispense with giving evidence that Pāṇini meant, in his eight grammatical books, to concern himself with Vaidik language as well as the language of common life. For I should have simply to quote hundreds of his rules which are entirely devoted to Vaidik texts, and I should have to carry the reader through the whole introduction of Patañjali, which proves, as I have already mentioned, that one of the chief objects of grammar is the correct apprehension of the hymns. I will merely therefore compare, first, some matter treated by Pāṇini with some matter treated by the Ṛk-prātiśākhya,—such matter, of course, as admits of a point of contact between both, and therefore of a comparison at all.

The fifth chapter of the latter work treats of the cases in which the consonant *s* becomes *sh*; the same subject is comprised in the latter part of the third chapter of Pāṇini's eighth book; but this book does not contain the smallest number of the cases mentioned in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*. The same work enumerates in the same chapter the words and classes of words in which *n* becomes *ṇ*, and very few only of these instances are taught by Pāṇini in the last chapter of his work. A similar remark applies with still greater force to a comparison of Pāṇini's rules on the prolongation of vowels with those given by the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* in its seventh, eighth and ninth chapters. In short, there is not a single chapter in this work which, whenever it allows of a comparison between its contents and the contents of analogous chapters of Pāṇini's grammar, must not at once be declared to be infinitely more complete than the rules on them delivered by Pāṇini.

In addressing myself for a like purpose to the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, I might seem to do that which is superfluous. For, as I have shown before that Pāṇini was not acquainted with a *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, it would require no further proof that he must have preceded a work which is entirely devoted to this collection of hymns. But as such a comparison, being extended also to the *Vārttikas*, would involve at the same time the question whether the author of the *Vārttikas* and the author of the *Prātiśākhya* is the same person or not; and as it would, too, bear on the very appreciation of the character of this Vaidik work, I will enter into it with greater detail than was required for the conclusions which follow from a comparison between the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* and Pāṇini.

It is a remarkable feature in the explanatory gloss which Professor Weber has attached to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya, that he evinces much pleasure in schooling Kātyāyana for introducing irrelevant matter into his work; now upbraiding him for his remarks on the common dialect, which ought not to have concerned him in a Sūtra of this kind; then finding fault with him for treating of words which do not occur in the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, and which, likewise, ought not to have troubled him. Professor Weber has given us too, in the beginning of his preface, a valuable collection of instances, which in his opinion prove either that Kātyāyana must have had before him a different version of the White Yajurveda than the one known to us or that he has botched on to his Prātiśākhya a number of rules which, for his purpose, were out of place; or, to sum up in the words of the *Indische Studien*, already referred to, that Kātyāyana shows neither skill nor practice in his treatment of the matter edited and commented upon by Professor Weber. But what would the latter think if Kātyāyana applied this very reproach to him? If he told Professor Weber that he did not even understand the character of the Prātiśākhya which he was editing and subjecting to all this learned criticism?

Let me, then, take the place of Kātyāyana, and maintain for him, that he is not only the very same Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārttikas to Pāṇini, but that his Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya has the double aim of being a Vaidik treatise as well as of containing criticisms on Pāṇini. And let me, therefore, tell Professor Weber that since there is abundant proof of this view in Kātyāyana's Vaidik work, all his handsome epithets are put out of court. And this, I hold, will also settle the question why we meet with so many Sūtras in Kātyāyana which are identical with those of Pāṇini; for we shall presently

see that this identity is merely an apparent, one, and, in reality, no identity at all.

I will take this point up first, and show that Kātyāyana merely repeated the words of Pāṇini in order to attach his critical notes to them, just as I sometimes literally repeated the words of Professor Weber himself, merely for the purpose of improving on him.

Pāṇini says (I. 1. 60) *adarśanam loṇaḥ*. "This is not distinct enough," I hear Kātyāyana say; hence he writes (I. 141) *varṇasyādarśanam loṇaḥ*.—Pāṇini gives the definition: (I. 2. 29, 30) *uccair udāttaḥ* and *nīcāir anudāttaḥ*. "So far so good", I suppose Kātyāyana to say; "but you give the necessary complement of these two rules in the words (I. 2. 31) 'samāhūraḥ svaritaḥ'; I object to this definition, for the *svarita* would better have been defined thus," *ubhayavān svaritaḥ* (K. I. 108-110)—P. I. 2. 32 : *tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam*; but K. I. 126: *tasyādita udāttam svarārdhamātram*.—P. VIII. 4. 67, 66: *nodāttasvarilodayam* (with the quotation of a dissent on the part of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava); *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*. The former rule is approved of by Kātyāyana, who repeats it literally, but the latter he words thus: *udāttāc cānudāttam svaritam* (IV. 140, 134).—P. I. 1. 8: *mukhanāsikāvacano 'nunāsikaḥ*; but K. I. 75: *mukhanāsikākaraṇo 'nunāsikaḥ*.—P. I. 1. 9: *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam*. "Would it not be clearer," we hear Kātyāyana say, "to give this definition thus: (K. I. 43) *samānasthānakaraṇāsyaprayatnaḥ savarṇaḥ*."—P. VI. 1. 84: *ekaḥ pūrvaprayoḥ*; but K. IV. 49: *athaikam uttarāc ca*.—P. I. 1. 66: *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. "This rule I adopt," Kātyāyana probably thought, (I. 134) "but for your next rule (I. 1. 67), *tasmād ity uttarasya*, I prefer the clear wording" (I. 135) *tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ*, "and your *ṣaṣṭhi*

sthāneyogā (I. 1. 49), evidently a rule which you ought to have put with those two preceding *Paribhāṣā* rules which are its complement, instead of separating it from them by seventeen other rules, I place it, therefore, immediately after these " (I. 136).

I will not add more instances of the same kind: they have all been carefully collected by Professor Weber; but he is far from PERCEIVING THAT THE IDENTITY between the language of both authors is merely an apparent one, and that the additional words of *Kātyāyana*, either in the same *Sūtra* or in one immediately following, but intimately connected with it, are so many criticisms on *Pāṇini*, which are even made more prominent by the repetition of a certain amount of *Pāṇini*'s words. For to assume, even without any of the further proofs which I shall adduce, that *Kātyāyana* first delivered his clearer and better *Sūtras*, and that *Pāṇini* hobbled after him with his imperfect ones, is not very probable.

The following synopsis of rules is an extract from those I have collected for the purpose of determining whether it could be a matter of accident that the *Prātiśākhya Sūtras* of *Kātyāyana* are, to a considerable extent, nothing but *Vārtikas* to *Pāṇini*.

Pāṇini writes (VIII. 2. 87), "*Om abhyādāne*," which rule proves that in his *om* was not confined to Vaidik use only; but *Kātyāyana* writes (I. 18 and 19), "*omkāram vedeṣu*" and "*athakāram bhāṣyeṣu*". No doubt if *Kātyāyana* had not written with a direct glance at *Pāṇini*, this latter rule would be out of place, but in this combination its origin becomes intelligible. *P.* says (VIII. i. 46), "*ehi manye prahāse lṛit.*" Though this rule does not treat of the accent of *manye*, it nevertheless would follow from other rules of *Pāṇini*, that *manye* is

ādyudātta in its combination with *ehi*. This inference is emphatically corrected by K. II, 15: *manyepadaṣṭvām śarvatra*. Professor Weber, it is true, says that this word *sarvatra*—which embodies the *emphasis* of the censure of Kātyāyana—is meaningless: once more, no doubt, Kātyāyana has bungled through “want of practice and skill.” How much Pāṇini’s rules VIII. 1. 19 and 72, *āmantritasya ca*, and *āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat*, are the torment of commentators, may be seen from many instances in Sāyaṇa’s commentary on the R̥g-veda. K. improves them considerably by II. 17 and 18: *ṣadapūrvam āmantritam anānūrthe’ ṣadādau* and *tenānantarā ṣaṣṭhy ekaṣadavat*.—K. writes II. 22: *bhūtir ādyudātta*: this rule again rouses the critical indignation of Professor Weber. “Why,” he exclaims, “is this word singled out (by Kātyāyana)? Assuredly, it is not the single *klin* formation in the V. S.” My answer is, because Kātyāyana had studied Pāṇini, and Professor Weber, it is clear, has not; for Pāṇini says, III. 3. 96, that *bhūti* is *antodātta* in the Veda; and Kātyāyana therefore singled this word out with the decided intention of stating that in the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā Pāṇini’s rule would be erroneous. This instance, I hold, moreover, is one of those which add some weight to the proof I have already given, that Pāṇini did not know, and therefore preceded, the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā.—K. says, II. 48, *devatādvandvāni cānāmantritāni*; and his words are a distinct criticism on P. VI. 2. 141, *devatādvandve ca*.—In rule VIII. 3. 36, Pāṇini teaches that *Visarjanīya* may remain such (or, as the Sūtra expresses itself, on account of previous Sūtras, may become *Visarjanīya*), before sibilants, or may become assimilated to the following sibilant. But he committed the venial offence of not stating that this latter alternative rests on the authority of Śākaṭāyana, and the former on that of Śākalya. Could Kātyāyana, therefore, forego the

opportunity of writing (III. 8): “*pratyayasavarṇam mudi Śākaṭāyanah*,” and (III. 9), “*avikāram Śākalyaḥ śaśaseṣu*” ?—In VI. 1. 134, Pāṇini gives a comprehensive rule on the elision of the final *s* in regard to the Vaidik use of the nominative of *tad*. “No”, says Kātyāyana (III. 14), “in the V. S. this elision occurs before vowels only in two instances: *sa oṣadhīmayoḥ*”—K. (III. 22) says *āvīr nir iḍa iḍāyā vasatir varivah*, and thus criticises the imperfection of P’s rule VIII. 3. 54, *iḍāyā vā*.—In III. 27, *adhvano rajaso riṣaḥ sprśas pātāu*, he shows the clumsiness of P’s rule VIII. 3. 52, *pātāu ca bahulam*; in III. 30, *parāv avasāne*, the imperfection of P’s VIII. 3. 51, *pañcamyāḥ parāv adhyarthe*; in III. 55. *bhāvibhyaḥ saḥ śam samānapade*, that of P’s VIII. 3. 59, *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*.—In the Sūtras III. 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the intervention of *anusvāra*, *k* and *r* do not prevent *s* from becoming *ṣ*, if this change would have to take place otherwise. “These rules,” says Professor Weber, “have no business here, for Saṃhitā and Pada-text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite general grammatical rules;” and in support of this argument he quotes Uvaṭa, who also points out the superfluity. The latter consoles us for it, it is true, by the remark that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch water, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers. But as Professor Weber is not so easily consoled, and not so leniently disposed towards Kātyāyana as Uvaṭa is, I may tell him that these rules are levelled against Pāṇini’s rules VIII. 3. 57 and 58, which omit to include *r*. At II. 55, *dvandvam cendrasomapūrvam pūṣāgnivāyuṣu*, Professor Weber discharges a witticism. “None of the compounds” (referred to in the Sūtra), he says, “occur in the V. S. or the Śat. Br..... How is that to be explained? Did our

Homer nod when he composed this rule ? or did he have before him passages of the V. S. which it no longer contains [Professor Weber probably meant to say, 'which was not the V. S. we now possess'] ? or is the text of our Sūtra corrupt, and have we to read another word for *soma* ?" I will try to relieve his anxiety by expressing the belief that this Sūtra and the next, II.56. are criticisms on Pāṇini's general rule VI. 2. 141, and on his special rule VI. 2. 142.—The rule of Pāṇini VIII. 3. 107. *sunah*, is criticised in three Sūtras of Kātyāyana III. 59, 60, 61, *okārāt su; oc cāpṛktāt*; and *abheś ca*.

The Vārttika 3 to III. 3.108 says *varṇūt kārah*; K. I. 37. *kāreṇa ca*; both are identical in their contents, and complete Pāṇini's rule III. 3. 108. The same remark applies to the Vārttika 4 to P. III. 3. 108. *rāl iphaḥ*, and to K. I. 40. *ra ephena ca*, in reference to the same rule of Pāṇini.—K. III. 38. *aharpatau repham*, points out an omission in P. VIII. 2. 70: the same criticism is conveyed by Vārttika 2 to this Sūtra of Pāṇini, *aharādīnām palyādiṣu*.—K. III. 12. *luṇ mudi jītpare* fills up a blank in P. VIII. 3. 36. *vā śari*; and likewise a Vārttika on this Sūtra to the same effect, *vā, śarprakaraṇe, jharpare loṇaḥ*.—P's rule VI. 3. 109. *prṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*, is criticised by K. III. 41 and 42. *ukāram dur de* and *nāśe ea*, as well as by a Vārttika to the former rule, which has the same contents: *duro dāśanāśadabhadhyeṣṭvam vaktavyam uttarapadādeś ca ṣṭutvam*.—A Vārttika to the same rule of P., *ṣaṣa utvam datṛdaśasūttarapadādeḥ ṣṭutvam ca*, is identical in contents with K. III.46. *ṣaḍ daśadantayoḥ samkhyāvayorthayoś ca*: both are criticisms on P. VI. 3. 109.—The first Vārttika to III. 2. 49. (improperly marked, like the two others, in the Calcutta edition, as if these Vārttikas did not occur in the Mahābhāṣya), *dārāvāhano 'ṇṇantyasya ca tah samjñāyām*, is similar in contents with K. III. 47. *ta āghād anāḍaṃbarāt*: both

complete P. III. 2. 49. *āśiṣi hanah*.—The important omission in P's Sūtra VIII. 4. 1. *raṣābhyān no ṇaḥ samānapade*, is, with almost a literal reference to these words, criticised by K's III. 83. *ṛṣarebhyo nakāro ṇakāram samānapade*, and by his Vārttika to the former rule, *raṣābhyām natva ṛkāragrahaṇam*.

I need not increase the foregoing quotations by a comparison of the contents of whole chapters of the Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya with the analogous contents of whole chapters in Pāṇini. For, though the result would be exactly the same as it has been in the case of our comparison between the *Rk-prātiśākhya* and Pāṇini's work, even the isolated Sūtras which I have contrasted in these quotations sufficiently show that Pāṇini could never have laid his Grammar open to such numerous criticisms as he has done, if the work of Kātyāyana had been composed before his own. My synopsis, moreover, shows that many rules of Kātyāyana become utterly inexplicable in his Prātiśākhya work *unless they be judged in their intimate connection with the Grammar of Pāṇini*. And, as it is simply ridiculous to assume that "Homer constantly nodded" in writing an elaborate work, which evidences considerable skill and practice in the art of arranging the matter of which he treats, there is no other conclusion left than that the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana had the twofold aim which I have indicated above.

There might, however, remain a doubt as to whether Kātyāyana first wrote his Prātiśākhya or his Vārttikas to Pāṇini. Two reasons induce me to think that his Prātiśākhya preceded his Vārttikas. In the first place, because the contrary assumption would lead to the very improbable inference that a scholar like Kātyāyana, who has given such abundant proof of his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, left a considerable number of Pāṇini's rules without those emendations which, as we must now

admit, are embodied in his *Prātiśākhya* work. If we made a supposition of this kind, we should imply by it that he belongs to that class of authors who present their writings in a hurried and immature state, and upon an after thought, make their apology in an appendix or an additional book. If we assume, on the other hand, that he first wrote his *Prātiśākhya-sūtras*, which neither imposed upon him the task, nor gave him an opportunity, of making a thorough review of Pāṇini, we can understand that they might have seduced him now and then into allowing himself to be carried away by the critical tendency which he afterwards fully developed in his *Vārttikas*; and we can then, too, understand why these *Vārttikas* treat merely of those *Sūtras* of Pāṇini which were not included in his former work.

My second reason for this view is derived from a comparison between such of his *Sūtras* and such of his *Vārttikas* as are closely related to one another. For if we examine the contents and the wording of either we cannot fail to perceive that some of Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* show an improvement on some of his *Sūtras*, and we may infer that they were given on account of this very improvement. Thus the *Vārttika* to VIII. 3. 36. quoted before, contains the word *vā*, which is not in the *Sūtra* III. 12; the *Vārttika duro* etc., to VI. 3. 109. embraces more formations than the *Sūtras* III. 41 and 42; the *Vārttikas* 1-3 to III. 2. 49. do not contain, it is true, the word *āḍaṃbara* alluded to in III. 47—perhaps because it was already contained in this *Sūtra*—but increase considerably the contents of this rule; the *Vārttika* 2 to VIII. 2. 70. treats of a whole *Gaṇa*, while the *Sūtra* III. 38. merely names its heading word; and so on. Nor could we forego such a comparison on the ground that there is a difference of purpose in the *Sūtras* which are attached

to the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, and in the Vārttikas, which are connected with Pāṇini,—that, consequently, an improvement of the Vārttikas on the Prātiśākhya need not tell on the chronological relation between both. For we have seen that Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya does *not* strictly confine itself to the language of his Saṃhitā or even to that of the Vedas in general. Already the instances given before would suffice to bear out this fact, in the appreciation of which I so entirely differ from Professor Weber's views; and a striking instance of this kind is afforded by Kātyāyana's Sūtra III. 42, quoted before. It treats of a case entirely irrelevant for the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā; this case is taken up again and enlarged upon in a Vārttika to VI. 3. 109, and there is no reason why the additions made in this Vārttika might not have been entitled with equal right to a place amongst Kātyāyana's Sūtras, as Sūtra III. 42 itself. Their not standing there shows to my mind that this Vārttika is later than this rule of the Prātiśākhya work.

It will readily be seen that I have arrived at the result of the priority of Pāṇini's work to the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, in entire independence of all the assistance which I might have derived from my previous arguments. I have hitherto abstained from availing myself of their aid, because an inference must gain in strength if it be able to show that two entirely distinct lines of argument necessarily lead to the same goal. Such is the case with the question before us. For if we now appeal, once more, to the important information which Patañjali supplied, *viz.*, that the "*anubhandhas* of former grammarians have no grammatical effect in the work of Pāṇini": in other words, that if a grammarian uses *anubhandhas* employed by Pāṇini in the same manner as he did, his work must have been written after Pāṇini's

work,—we need only point to the *pratyāhāra tiñ*, in Kātyāyana's Sūtra I. 27, in order to be relieved from any doubt that Pāṇini's grammar is prior to the Sūtra of Kātyāyana. That Kātyāyana added in his Sūtras other technical terms to those of Pāṇini, cannot be a matter of surprise; indeed, it is even less remarkable than it would be under ordinary circumstances if we consider that he made—either as inventor or as borrowing from older grammarians—such additions to the terminology of Pāṇini, in his very Vārttikas, where one would think there was the least necessity for them,—where, for instance, he might have easily done without such new terms as *śit*, *pit*, *jit*, *jhit*, *ghu*, in the sense in which he uses them.¹

Thus far my *literary* argument on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhya works. The *historical* proof, that not only the work of Pāṇini, but *Pāṇini himself*, preceded, by at least two generations, the author of the oldest Prātiśākhya, requires, in the first place, the remark that by the latter designation I mean the Prātiśākhya of the Ṛgveda hymns.

1. Vārttika 1 to Pāṇini I. 1. 68: *Sittadvīṣeṣūṇām vṛkṣ-
ādyartham;*

Vārttika 2: *pitparyāyavacanasya ca svādyartham;*

Vārttika 3: *jitparyāyavacanasyaiva rūiādyartham;*

Vārttika 4: *jhit tasya ca tadviṣeṣūṇām ca matsyādyar-
tham.*

In his Kārikā to VII. 1. 21. (Compare Note 114) Kātyāyana uses the term *ghu* in the sense of *uttarapada*, as results from the commentary of Patañjali.—Kārikā: *auśaghau* etc. Patañjali: *auśaghāv iti vaktavyam. Kim idam aghāv iti. Anuttarapada iti*, etc. The same term *ghu* occurs in Patañjali's Kārikā to VI. 4. 149. (see note 121): *ghau loṇo'ntiṣad ity atra* etc., when Kaiyaṣa observes: *ghuśabdenottarapadam pūrvācūrya prasiddhyocyate.*

Since Professor Weber, in his introduction to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya has given proofs that this work as well as the Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya— and I infer too, that of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā—are more recent than the Ṛk-prātiśākhya, and since these reasons are conclusive to my mind, I need not, by the addition of other proof to that which he has afforded us on this point, weaken the great pleasure I feel, in being able, for once in a way, to coincide with him in his views.

It is necessary, however, that I should first touch in a few words on the question of the authorship of this Ṛk-prātiśākhya. It is adverted to in the first verse of this work, in a passage which contains all the information we possess on this point. The passage in question runs thus: "After having adored Brahma, Śaunaka expressed the characteristic feature of the Rg-veda verses."

Now, as it is not unusual in Sanskrit writings for the author to introduce himself in the commencement of his work by giving his name, and speaking of himself in the third person, this verse alone would not justify us in looking upon the words quoted as *necessarily* containing a mere report of Śaunaka's having delivered certain rules which another later author brought into the shape of the Ṛk-prātiśākhya as we now find it. But it must be admitted, also, that it does not absolutely compel us to ascribe this work to Śaunaka himself. It leaves us free to interpret its sense according to the conclusions which must be derived from the contents of the work itself.

These contents have already required us to establish the priority of Pāṇini's Grammar to this Prātiśākhya work. If, then, we find that Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an ancient authority,¹ while there is no evidence to show

1. IV. 3. 105 : *purāṇaproktesu brūhmaṇakalpesu* ;
106 : *śaunakādibhyaś chandasi*.

Compare also page 113.

that the Śaunaka named in both works is not the same personage, there is from the point of view of my former 'literary' argument, a certainty that Śaunaka was *not* the author of the Prātiśākhya here named.¹ This inference, however, it must be admitted, is only entitled to be mentioned thus at the beginning of the *historical* argument, in so far as it may *afterwards* strengthen and corroborate it, but not, if it had to be used in order to premise the conclusions which will have to be drawn.

Another preliminary remark, also, must be devoted to the sweeping assertion of Professor Weber, already quoted, which is to this effect, that "sameness of names can never prove the identity of the persons" whom bear these names. It is true he qualifies this *dictum* by adding after "names", "like Kātyāyana"; but, even with this restriction, I cannot convince myself that literary criticism gains in strength by carrying Pyrrhonism beyond the confines of common sense. If great celebrity attaches to a name in certain portions of Sanskrit Literature, I believe we are not only free, but compelled, to infer that the personage bearing this name in both such places is the same personage, unless there be particular and *good* reasons which would induce us to arrive at a contrary conclusion. I thus hold that a critic has no right to obtrude his doubts upon us until he has given good and substantial reasons for them.

After this expression of dissent from the critical principles of Professor Weber, I may now recall the fact I have mentioned on a previous occasion (p. 60),

1. This is the view, too, of *Uvaṭa*, the commentator on this Prātiśākhya. He says that Śaunaka's name is mentioned for the sake of remembering him : *nūmagrahaṇam smaraṇārtham*. See Mr. Regnier's edition of the Rik-P. in the Journal Asiatique, Vol. VII. (1856), p. 183.

that there is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand Ślokas, called *San̄graha*, whose author is *Vyāḍi* or *Vyāli*. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name *San̄graha*, nor of any other celebrated grammarian named *Vyāḍi*. Both names, however, are not unfrequently met with in the grammatical literature. *Vyāḍi* is quoted several times in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*,¹ and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the *San̄graha*. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentators give of the Sūtras to Pāṇini or the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana²; and both, indeed, as I shall show hereafter, appear to have stood in a close relation to Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. We are, however, only concerned here with one instance with which Patañjali illustrates the second Vārttika of Pāṇini's rule II. 3. 66.

It is this: "*beautiful indeed is Dākṣāyaṇa's creation of the San̄graha.*"³

From it we learn, then, in connection with the information we already possess of the proper names of the author of the *San̄graha*, that *Vyāḍi* and *Dākṣāyaṇa* are

1. *Ṛk-P.* III. 14, 17; VI. 12; XIII. 12, 15. See Mr. Regnier's *Index des noms propres* to his edition of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, s. v. *Vyāli*.

2. Patañjali's commentary on v. 6 (of the Calcutta edition) to IV. 2. 60 gives the instances: *sarvavedaḥ*, *sarva-tantraḥ*, *savārtikaḥ*, *sasaṅgrahaḥ* or the *Kūśikā* to VI. 3. 79: *sasaṅgraham vyākaraṇam adhīte*.

3. This instance follows another which says: "beautiful indeed is Pāṇini's creation of (his) Sūtra".—Vārttika 2 to II. 3. 66: *śeṣe vibhāṣā*. Patañjali: *śobhanā khalu pāṇineḥ sūtrasya kṛtiḥ*. *śobhanā khalu pāṇininā sūtrasya kṛtiḥ*. *śobhanā khalu dākṣāyaṇasya saṅgrahasya kṛtiḥ* *śobhanā khalu dākṣāyaṇena saṅgrahasya kṛtiḥ*.

one and the same grammatical authority. *Dākṣāyaṇa*, however, is not only a descendant of *Dākṣa*, but of *Dākṣi* also,¹ and of the latter, at least in the third generation, while he may possibly have held a far more distant place in the lineage of this personage who is so often named in the ancient literature. For Pāṇini, who defines the term *yuvan* as the son of a grandson or of a more remote degree in the lineage of a family chief,² gives a rule in reference to this term, which the principal commentators illustrate by the name of *Dākṣāyaṇa*.³

If we now turn to Pāṇini himself, we have it on the authority of Patañjali that his mother bore the name o

1. Pāṇini, IV. 1. 95 : *Ata iñ. Kātyāyana : iño vṛddhū-
vṛddhābhyām phiñphinau vipratishedhena. Patañjali : iño
vṛddhūvṛddhābhyām phiñphinau bhavataḥ vipratishedhena. iño'-
vakūśaḥ. dākṣiḥ* etc. *Kāśikā : dakṣasyūpatyam dākṣiḥ.*

2. Pāṇini, IV. 1. 162 : *Apatyam pautraprabṛti gotram ;*
163 : *jīvati tu vaṁśye yuvā ;*
164 : *bhrātari ca jyāyasi ;*
165 : *vānyasmin sapinḍe sthaviratare
jīvati.*

3. IV. 1. 101 : *yañiñś ca.* This Sūtra has no direct commentary by Patañjali, and I shall therefore quote the *Kāśikā* on it : *yañantūdiñantūc cūpatye phakṣpratyayo bhavati. gārgyāyaṇaḥ. vātsyāyaṇaḥ. iñantūt—dākṣāyaṇaḥ. plākṣāyaṇaḥ. Dvīpād anusamudram yañ (IV. 3. 10) (IV. 2. 80) sutamgamādibhya iñ ity ato na bhavati. Gotragrahaṇena yañiñau viśeṣyete. tadantū yūny evāyam pratyayaḥ. (comp. IV. 1. 94).—But there is no occasion for doubting the genuineness of this Sūtra on account of there being no Bhāṣya to it (compare note 139), for Patañjali refers to it in his comment on the fifth Paribhāṣā (in the Calc. Edition) to I. 1. 72 and has also, among others, the instance *dākṣāyaṇaḥ. viz., (ed. Ballantyne, p. 795) ; Paribhāṣā pratyayagrahaṇam cūpañcamyūḥ. pratyayagrahaṇam ca apañcamyūḥ prayojanam. yañiñś phag bhavati. gārgyāyaṇaḥ**

Dākṣī.¹ And *Dākṣī* again, is, on the faith of all commentators on a rule of Pāṇini, the female family head of the progeny of Dakṣa, standing in the same relationship to Dakṣa as the male family chief *Dākṣī*; she is, in other words, the oldest sister (*vṛddhā*) of the latter personage.² Vyādi, therefore, was a near relative of Pāṇini, and Pāṇini must have preceded him by at least two generations.

vātsyāyaṇaḥ. paramagūrgyāyaṇaḥ. paramavātsyāyaṇaḥ. dākṣāyaṇaḥ. paramadākṣāyaṇaḥ etc.—That *Dākṣāyaṇa* is the *yuvan*, not the *son* of *Dākṣī* is sufficiently clear from the *Kāśikā* itself, since it refers to IV. 1. 94. For this reason it also gives as an instance of a *yuvan* to I. 2. 66, besides *gūrgyāyaṇaḥ* and *vātsyāyaṇaḥ* (omitted in the Calc. ed.) the word *dākṣāyaṇaḥ*. Patañjali contents himself with the instance *gūrgyāyaṇaḥ*; but it commences its counter-instance to II. 4. 58 in this way: *aṇiñor iti kim ? dākṣer apatyam yuvā dākṣāyaṇaḥ*. We must consequently, consider it an inaccuracy when the same *Kāśikā* gives its counter-instance to II. 4. 60 in these words: *prācām iti kim ? dākṣiḥ pitā dākṣāyaṇaḥ putraḥ*. The Calcutta edition continues it, and Dr. Boethlingk, of course, reprints it without a single remark. In short, whenever we open his discreditable reprint, we understand perfectly well why he writes in his preface p. xxxviii: “The Calcutta edition is very correct, so much so, that only on the very rarest occasions have I had an opportunity of preferring the readings of the Manuscripts.”

1. *Kārikā* to I. 1. 20: *sarve sarvapadādeṣū dākṣīputrasya pāṇineḥ*.

2. Pāṇini, VI. 4. 148: *yasyeti ca*. Patañjali: *ivarṇāntasyeti kim udāharaṇam ? he dākṣyā dākṣeyaḥ. he dākṣī iti yadi lopo na syāt. etc.* Kaiyaṇaṣa: *ivarṇāntasyeti. he dākṣīti. dākṣīśabdād ito manuṣyajāteḥ iti* (MS. *he dākṣinidikṣiṣa o o*) (IV. 1. 65) *nāṣi kṛte tasya sambuddhau hrasve kṛte etc.*—N. 1. 65: *ito manuṣyajāteḥ*—*Kāśikā*.....*dākṣī*.....—IV. 1, 94: *gotrād yūṇy astriyām*. *Kāśikā*—*astriyām iti kim ? dākṣī*....—I. 2,

Now since the Ṛk-prātiśākhya quotes Vyāḍi, as we have seen, on several occasions, and since the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pāṇini from the author of the Ṛk-prātiśākhya on the one hand, and from the author of the Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya and the Vārtikas on the other."

66 : *strī puṇvac ca* (where *strī* implies in reference to the preceding Sūtra *vṛddhā strī*, i.e., the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant, considered as the female head of the family).—Kāśikā : *vṛddho yūneti* (I. 2. 65) *ca sarvam. strī vṛddhā yūnā saha vacane śiṣyate. tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣo bhavati. puṃsa ivāsyāḥ* (thus MS. 829 ; MS. 2440 *evasyāḥ*) *kāryam bhavati. stryarthah puṃarthavad bhavati gārgī ca gārgyāyanaś ca gārgyan. vātsī ca vātsyāyanaś ca vātsyan. dākṣī ca dākṣīyanaś ca dākṣyan.* (thus MS. 2440, MS. 829 *dākṣī*).

CHAPTER III.

GENESES OF THE KĀTYĀYANA- PRĀTISĀKHYA

[*Note:* The first two chapters are engaged in describing some general topics regarding the Prātiśākhya, its commentary, and their authors. Now it is proper to enter into the subject-matter of the work. The subject-matter which is described in different chapters of this Prātiśākhya can be distinguished under four 'main headings, as follows:

(1) *Varṇasamāmnāya* (enumeration of letters).

(2) *Samjñā-paribhāṣakathana* (description of samjñas and paribhāṣas).

(3) *Svara-vidhāna* (accentuation).

(4) *Samskāra-vidhāna* (euphony).

The treatment of letters are the main basis of the whole work, and hence they are enumerated first. As the treatment of accentuation and euphony requires technical terms and phraseology, they are presented next. In the *Pratijñā-sūtra* (I. 1) Kātyāyana has mentioned svara first and samskāra secondly, and they are presented here in the same order. The first heading relates to the topics of the eighth chapter of the Prātiśākhya, the second to the first chapter, the third to the second chapter and to the first 24 aphorisms of the sixth chapter,

and the fourth to the remaining portions. It is **not** intended here to present the whole subject with all particulars. The pupil who desires to have a thorough knowledge of the subject in detail is directed to enter into the original works. In this monograph a preliminary attempt is made to understand the elementary principles, and the method of the treatise.]

*Scheme of sounds of the Śukla-yaṣurvedic
language.*

There are 65 sounds altogether. Of them 23 are vocalic and 42 consonantal.

I. Fifteen simple vowels and eight diphthongs.

II. Twenty-five mutes divided into five classes (series):

(1) five gutturals (velare).

(2) five palatals.

(3) five linguals.

(4) five dentals.

(5) five labials.

III. Four semi-vowels.

IV. Four spirants.

V. Nine ayogavāhas:

(1) one pure nasal: ṁ called anusvāra (after-sound).

(2) three voiceless spirants: ḥ (visarjaniya), ḥ (jihvāmūliya), and ḥ (upadhmāniya).

(3) one nāsikya.

(4) four yamas.

THE ALPHABETIC SCHEME ACCORDING TO THE ŚUKLA-YAJURVEDA-PRĀTISĀKHYA.

Vowels (*vara*) 23.

<i>Mūlasvara</i> or original vowels.	a, ā, ā3; i, ī, ī3; u, ū, ū3; r, ṛ, ṛ3.	15
Diphthongs or <i>Sandhyakṣara</i>	e, e3; o, o3; ai, ai3; au, au3.	8

Consonants (*vyañjana*) 42.

Mutes.	Guttural Palatal Lingual Dental Labial	Surd ka, ca, ta, ta, pa,	Surd- aspirate kha, cha, ṭha, ṭha, pha,	Sonant t	ga, ja, ḍa, ḍa, ba,	Sonant- aspirate gḥa, jḥa, ḍḥa, ḍḥa, bhā,	Nasal ṇa. ṇa. ṇa. na. ma	25
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<i>Antasṭha</i> or Semi-vowels	ya, ra, la, va.	4
<i>Ūṣṇan</i> or Spirants	śa, ṣa, sa, ha.	4
	Jihvāmūliya	
	Ūpadhmāniya	
	Anusvāra	
	Nāsikya	
	Viśarjaniya	
<i>Ayogavāha</i>	Yama—kum	
	khum	
	gum	
	ghum	
	9	
	Total	65

Note : The order of arrangement of sounds catalogued above is according to this Prātisākhya, Chapter VIII.

A, i, u,—This *Prātiśākhya* has these three earliest and most universal vowels of 'Indo-European' languages in short, long, and protracted forms. The short *a* is not pronounced in India with the full openness of *ā*, as its corresponding short, but usually as the 'neutral vowel'. This peculiarity appears very ancient, because it is not only acknowledged by this *Prātiśākhya* but also by Pāṇini and the *Aṭharva-veda-prātiśākhya*, which call the utterance *saṃvṛta*, covered up, dimmed. Kātyāyana strangely classes, the letter *ṛ* with the *jihvāmūliya* sounds (I. 65), but in the Pāṇinean scheme it is ranked as lingual. The long *ṛ* is very much more unusual occurring only in certain cases. The *ḷ* is also met with only in some words. Of the four diphthongs, two the *e* and *o* are original. They are the products of increment of strengthening of *i* and *u* respectively. The remaining two, the *ai* and *au* are the peculiar growths of Sanskrit and the results of another and higher increment of *i* and *u*.

The consonants are divided by the author of this treatise into *sparśa* (mute), *antastha* (intermediate or semi-vowel), *ūṣman* (spirant), and *ayogavāha*. The five mute-series are arranged in the order 'beginning with the contact made furthest-back in the mouth, coming forward from point to point and ending with the frontmost contact'. Among the aspirate sounds, the sorant-aspirates are considered to be original and common to Indo-European sounds, while the surd-

aspirates are a special Indian development. We cannot exactly distinguish in what way the aspirates differ from the unaspirated letters. But in pronunciation they require some additional efforts of the producing organ: they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of *flatus* or aspiration (a perceptible *h*-sound). Scholars define the element of aspiration which follows the mute as a "glottal buzz". Generally aspirated sounds are known to be the emphasized utterances of the mutes. Of these mute-letters, Kātyāyana speaks of (I. 54), the aspirated letters as which etymologically means *accompanied by a rush of breath* or *accompanied by a spirant*. Kātyāyana describes gutturals as made by the contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw (*hanumūla*) and calls them *tongue-root-sounds*. According to Pāṇini they are produced in the throat. The next, palatal (*tālavya*) series, according to European phonetists, is a derivative, being the result of the corruption of original gutturals. The palatals are declared to be formed against the palate by the middle of the tongue (with the upper flat surface of the tongue), that is to say they are made in a point of the mouth which is between of gutturals and linguals. Kātyāyana describes that the linguals are sounded with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate, and terms them as *mūrdhanya cephalics* or *cerebrals*. As regards the origin of linguals and their distinction from dentals nothing is said exactly as sufficient attempt is not made in this direction.

But generally the lingual sounds are known as coming from the phonetic alteration of the dental sounds. In this connection, the late lamented Professor Rājarāja Varmā observes as follows:

“*Tavargas tavargād utpanna iti darsayitum
suśakam. Tatra ‘vināma iti Kātyāyanena
vyavahr̥to nasya natvaridhiḥ, dhasyaḥ dhatvavi-
dhīḥ,*

“*Ajmadhyasthaḍakārasya*

lakāram bahvrcā viduḥ |

Dhakārasya lhakāram ca”

*iti Prātisākhyaṃ ca katicana līṅgāni. Iha kanthah,
tālu, mūrdhā, dantamūlam, oṣṭhau iti ābhyan-
tarād ārabhya bāhyakrameṇa varṇānām sthānāni.
Tatra dūrāntaritasthānajanāyā varṇā yathā mithah
prasphuṭabhedā na tathā āsannasthānaja-
nyāḥ. Aṭas sīmādvayasya madhyagatā dantya-
mūrdhanya-tālavyā anatidūrāntaritadhvanitvāt
saṃsarge vyatikliśnāte. Tadā ca svato vikārya-
prakṛtiko dantyo na kevalam āsanne mūrdhanye,
api tvekāntarite tālavye’pi saṃsargavaśāt sārūpyam
prāpya līyate. Idam eva śeṭvram ṣṭutvam iti ca
vyavahriyate. Iha dantyaḥ vikṛtāḥ mūrdhan-
yaṇiṣpādane prakṛta-bhāṣāṇāṃ drāviḍa-bhāṣāṇāṃ
ca saṃsargeṇa bahu vyāpṛtam syāt. Tā hi saṃskṛta-
dantyaṇ mūrdhanyaṇ kurvanti. Yathā:*

Pattanam > paṭṭaṇam.

Dola > dola.

Dālimam > *dāḍimam*.

Aṅganam > *aṅkanam*.

Vartate > *vattadi*.

Vaidūryam > *vaiḍūryam*.

Mandodarī > *maṇḍodarī*.

Śāḍvalam > *śāḍvalam*.

Bhindipālah > *bhiṇḍipālah*.

Sthāne > *ṭhāṇe*.¹

Professor Whitney remarks as follows:

“The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these:

(1) *ṣ* comes from *s*, much more rarely from *ś*, *j*, *kṣ*, in euphonic circumstances * * *.

(2) a dental mute following *ṣ* is assimilated to it, becoming lingual (*ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ṇ*).

(3) *n* is often changed to *ṇ* after a lingual vowel or semi-vowel or sibilant in the same word.

(4) *ḍh*, which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after *ṣ* or *h*.

(5) *ṭ* and *ḍ* come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final. When originated in these ways, the lingual letters may be regarded as normal; in any

1. * *Laghu-pāṇinīyam*. Part ii, p. 79, 1913.

other cases of their occurrence, they are either products of abnormal corruption, or signs of the non-Indo-European character of the words in which they appear. * * * Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes—hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.”²

The dental sounds are called dantyas. They are formed at the roots of the teeth by the tip of the tongue (I. 69, 76), thrust well forward against the upper teeth, so that these sounds get a slight tinge. The labial series is generated from the oṣṭha. From an early period the letters *v* and *b* exchange with one another. Especially north-Indians frequently write with *v* instead of *b*.

Kātyāyana designates the semi-vowels as antasthas, which means ‘standing between’. The name antastha is a significant one, for they stand between mutes and spirants in the arrangement of consonants.³ The *y* is a tālavya letter, and its sound is produced by the middle of the tongue touched into the both sides of the dome of the palate. According to Kātyāyana *r* is made at the roots of the teeth by the tip of the tongue. But Pāṇinean scheme reckons it as a lingual sound. The *l* is a sound of dental position, and it is uttered by the tip of the tongue. The semi-vowels *r* and *l*

2. Whitney. *Sanskrit Grammar*, 1923, p. 17.

3. “*Strīpuruṣavibhāge yathā śaṇḍas tathā svaravyañjana-vibhāge āntarālīkā yavaralāh. Ata eva te ‘madhyamā’ iti ‘antasthā’ iti ca vyapadiśyante.*” A. R. Rājārāja Varmā. *Laghu-pāṇinīyam*. Part II, p. 48. 1913.

are very widely interchangeable. The *Sukla-yayajurvedic* text of Kāṇva school has another *l*-sound, which is substituted for a lingual *ḍ*. In the euphony of the language, the letter *v* stands related to an *u*-vowel just like *y* to an *i*-vowel. The *v* is classed as a labial semi-vowel (oṣṭhya) and the sound of it is made between the upper teeth and the lower lip.

Of spirants, the letter *ś* is classified as a palatal one. It is made with the middle of the tongue against the forward part of the palatal arch. The two sounds *ś* and *ṣ* are made in the same part of the mouth—*ṣ* probably rather further back, but with a different part of the tongue. The *ṣ* is produced in the lingual position with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. In pronunciation the *ṣ* is confounded with *kh*. The letter *s* has a dental sound like the hiss of a serpent expelled between the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly behind the upper front teeth. Kātyāyana speaks the letter *h* as a kaṇṭhya-svara in many places. According to the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* the *h* has the same position with the beginning of the vowel. Some of the native phonetists identify the *h* with the aspiration of surd and sonant aspirates: $k+h > kh$, $g+h > gh$, $t+h > th$, $j+h > jh$, etc.

Of ayogavāhas, the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* are the converted-forms of the *visarjanīya*. So their inclusion in the *Varṇa-samāmnāya* as separate letters seems to be unnecessary. *Visarjanīya* is converted into *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya*

before surd gutturals and surd labials respectively, and that is only according to some authorities. The anusvāra is a nasal sound. Kātyāyana declares it to be made with nose alone, and determines of the quantity of anusvāra combining with a short and with a long vowel respectively to make a long syllable. Anusvāra becomes as a nasal element following a vowel, as a prolongation of the same vowel-sound with nasality added, and as a nasalized bit of neutral-vowel sound. Generally the anusvāra is the changed form of *m*, and the anunāsika is of anusvāra. There are different signs to anusvāra, but one of which alone is adopted here: for makāra the *m*, for anusvāra the *m̐*, and for anunāsika the *m̐̃*. The visarjanīya which can be seen always belonging to the end of a syllable, is guttural (kaṇṭhya) and it is made by the middle of jaw. The visarjanīya always comes as a substitute of other letters *s*, *ś*, etc. According to European phonetists the visarjanīya is a comparatively recent member of the alphabetic system. The nāsikya and yama letters are noted as pure nose-sounds. With regard to nāsikya Uvvaṭa remarks that it is familiar with the text of the *Rk-śākhā*. All these ayogavāhas are calculated by Kātyāyana as consonants.

About the order of the arrangement of letters Prof. Rājarāja Varmā has stated in his *Laghu-pāṇinīya* (second part pp. 75-81) which is as follows:

“*Akṣara-samāmnūyah. Svareṣu prathame trayo (a, i, u) mūlabhūtāḥ. Sandhyakṣarāṇi (e, o, ai,*

au) anvarthanāmāny eṣām mitho misraṇenotpan-
nāni. Rkāra-lkārau vivāraprayatnena svarīkṣtau
repha-lakārāv eva. 'Kṛpo ro laḥ', 'Plutāvaica id-
tau' iti sūtrayor vyākhyāne ubhayam api vicāritam
idam. Mūlasvareṣu akāras tīvrayatnah, ikāro
mrḍuyatnah, ukāro madhyayatna ity asti vivekaḥ.
Asyopapattir upariṣṭād vakṣyate. Kevalasvarā-
nām (akām) dviruktan samśleṣeṇa dīrghaḥ. Trir
uktyādir uccāraṇe viśeṣādarśanān na gaṇyate. Ata
eva 'Akas savarṇe dīrgho' vihitah. Plutam tu bhin-
nasvarūpo vikārah. Sandhyakṣarāṇi saṃyogarū-
patvāt svato dīrghāṇi. Teṣu ghaṭakāmśayos tila-
taṇḍulanyāyena samśṛṣṭir eva vivakṣitā, na tu
nīrakṣīranyāyena saṅkaraḥ. Gacchatā punaḥ
kālenāvayavaśleṣasya dārḍhyātirekāṭ bhedabuddhāv
eva tirohitāyām sīsatāmrayor vilāpitayor utpad-
yamāno navah kāmśyasamjño loha iva svatantr-
asvarū ete samvṛttāḥ.

Ataś ca prākṛteṣu eṇo hrasvatā drśyate. Eṇh-
rasvo grīkāprabhṛtiṣu svasṛbhāṣāsu drṣṭatvāt
prācīna eva, saṃskṛte kenāpi kāraṇena naṣṭa iti
vaktavyam varttate. Grīkāletinaḥ yatra ekāra
okāro vā svarah, saṃskṛte tatra prāyeṇa akāro drś-
yate; ataḥ purātanaṁ eṇviṣayās saṃskṛte kramād
akareṇāpahṛtās syuḥ; upalabhyate cādyāpi padān-
tasakārāt pūrvasyākārasya kvacit 'śivo vandyā'
ityādaḥ okārātmanāvasthānam. Prākṛteṣu tu pa-
dāntasakārāt pūrvasya akārasya otvam sārva-
tri-
kam.

Ikārokārayor guṇa-vṛddhibhyām eco niṣpad-
yante. Ika ādāv akārayogo guṇaḥ. Akārad-

vayagogah, ākārāyogah, sakṛd guṇitasya punar guṇanam vā vṛddhiḥ. $A+i>e$; $a+u>o$; $a+a+i>ai$; $a+a+u>au$; $ṛkāra-ḷkārau$ guṇa-vṛddhyoḥ kriyamāṇayoḥ kāryavaśād āropitam svaradharmaṃ utsṛjya nijam vyañjanabhāvaṃ eva pratipadyete. Ato guṇitarkāraḥ ar iti rūpam prāpnoti. Vardhitah āṛ iti ca. Evam ḷkārah al, āl iti. Guṇākhyo vikāra āryabhāṣāṇām sādharmaṇah, vṛddhis tu saṃskṛtamātradr̥ṣṭah.

Iko yaṇas ca vijātikṣetrā bhrātara iva jātimātrena kevalam bhidyante. Prasāryocārītā yaṇa iko bhavanti. Śaṅkocyocārītā iko yaṇas ca. Tatra rephalakārau svaradaśāyām apy utkṛta-vyañjanām-sār iti viśeṣah. Anena 'iko yaṇ aci' iti sandhiḥ saṃprasāraṇam ca vyākhyātam. Yaṇ-sandhiḥ padānte sārvaṭrikaprāyaḥ, padamadhye tv ekākṣarāṇām aṅgāṇām svarāpahāreṇa vairūpyam, saṃyogapūrvāṇām vyañjanāntarayogena duḥśravatū ca mā bhūd iti yavayor iyaṇuvāṇau kriyete. 'Eco'yavāyāvah' iti viśleṣitayor yvor yaṇ eva. Prasleṣasandhir avāpyor upasargayor allopa ivārvācīnair avatāritah. Ata eva cchandasi tatra prakṛtibhāvo vidhīyate.

Vyañjanāni madhyamā, ūṣmāṇah, vargapāñca-kaghaṭitāḥ sparśās ceti tridhā vibhaktāni. Ūṣmasu hakāra eko vilakṣaṇadhvanir aniruktasthānaś ca. Mrdubhir ghaṭito'yam mahāprāṇaprakṛtis tān ghoṣīkarotiti prātisākhyakārā āhuḥ. 'Jhayo ho'-nyatarasyām' iti pūrvasavarṇavidhiḥ, ṛgvedīyalakāralekhanasaṃpradāyaś cāmum artham viśadayataḥ. Kharāṇām atikharīkaraṇam api hakāra-

yoganibandhanam pratibhāti; kintu tatra na kiñcin nirṇāyakam līṅgam asti. Ghoṣaprayatnavato haḥkārasya yogena niṣpannās ced atikharāḥ katham aghoṣā drśyanta iti sandehaś ca jāgarti. Grikābhāṣāyām 'Cchid dvaidhīkarane' iti dhātoḥ 'skid' iti, 'gacchati' ityasya 'basko' iti ca rūpasya darśanāt chakārah 'ska' iti saṃyogād utpanna iti kecid unnayanti. 'Cche ca' iti tugvidhānena drśyate ca chakārasya saṃyogasamānayogakṣemā daśā. Khakāra evam 'kśa' iti saṃyogād utpannaḥ syād iti tarkayāmi. Bhāṣyakāro hi cakṣiṇaḥ khśūñ iti paṭhitvā asiddhakāṇḍe śasya yo vā vaktavya ity āha. Rutvapratishedhādiprayojanam uddiśya kṛto'py ayam pāṭho yakārādeśasya vikalpanād uccāraṇasāmyam anumāpayati. 'Akhkhidat', 'akkhidra', 'parikhkhidate' iti taittirīya-saṃhitāyām khidadhāturūpeṣu khakārasya dvitvakaraṇadarśanam apy asmadūham anukūlayati. 'Sascho'ti' iti śasya chatvaidhānasya 'Chvoḥ śuḍ amunāsike ca' iti vaiparītyeṇa chasya śatvavidhānasya ca svārasyaparyālocane chakāre'pi mahāprānabījam śakāra eva syād iti tarkasyāvākāśo'sti. Mahacśāstra iti vaikalpikasya chatvasyākarane'pi dhvanau na mahān bhedaś copalabhyate. Padānte dārḍhyāya śasya chaḥ, padamadhye śaithilyāya chasya śas ca.

Uktasyānumānasya līṅgāntarāṇy api santy upaṣṭambhakāni. Tathāhi: (1) 'Nāḍīnyākrośe putrasya' iti sūtrasya bhāṣye 'Cayo dvitīyāḥ śari pauṣkara-sādeḥ' iti vārttikam paṭhyate. Udāhriyate ca—'akṣaram', 'aphisarāḥ', 'vathsaḥ' iti. Anena kharāṇām parastūc chaśaśasaiḥ saṃyuktānam atikha-

ratvāpattim pauskarasādir ācāryo vānchatiti jñāyate. (2) *Mantraśāstre kṣakāro mātṛkāpāthe gaṇyate.* *Devanāgarē tasya svatantrā lipiḥ kalpitā.* (3) *Prākṛteṣu ratsaḥ > vaccho, kṣaṇaḥ > khaṇo, apsarāḥ > accharā iti parastāt śaśasasaṃyuktānām kharāṇām atikharībhāro dṛśyate.* (4) *‘Abhyāse śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ’ iti purastātsaṃyuktānām śarām agaṇanena parasamyogād asya dārḍhyātirekaḥ sūcyate.*

Iha visargaḥ padānteṣvavasāne kakhapapheṣu pareṣu caiva dṛśyata iti, prāṇiṣu nakhadantalomaśṛṅgavad apradhānam śarīrabāhyam aṅgam iti sarvo jñāti. Tathā kiñcid api dūram vicāramārge buddhiḥ prahīyate ced anye varṇā gaḍuśvayathuprabhṛtīvad vikārajanyā iti sphuṭībhaviṣyati. Tathāhi:

Jhali pare padānte ca hakārasya ghoṣāḥ, śakārasya sakārah, cavargasya kavargaś ca vidhīyante. Tena ha-śa-cavargūḥ padamādhye svaramadhyamānunāsikeṣu pareṣu eva śrūyante iti siddham. Ataś caite’pi visargavad evāsārvatrikāḥ. Visargaḥ padāntamātradr̥ṣṭaḥ, ete padamādhyamātradr̥ṣṭā iti vaiparītyam eva bhedaḥ. Tathāpi svarayogakṣamatvāt teṣāṃ svatantravarṇatā loka pratibhāsatē. Svara eva hy akṣarasya jīvanādī; lipayaś ca svaropaskṛtāny eva vyañjanāni cinhayanti. Evañ ca, yathā visargo naisargikarephasya rutvāpannasakārasya vā vikāras tathā hakāro vargacaturthānām, śakārah śakārasya, cavargaḥ kavargasya ca vikāra iti jñāyate. Śakārah punar mūrdhanyādeśavidhānādibhir bahutra sakāraprakṛtika iti sphuṭam. Ata ūṣmasu sakāra eka eva prakṛtisiddhaḥ, anye vikārā

iti phalitam. Drśyate ca dhātuṣu nāmasu ca śaṣa-sānām deśabhedūdibhir mahaty avyavasthā.

Harati-gr̥hātī adyāpi cchandasi bharati-gr̥hī-nātī eva. 'Hṛgrahobhaśchandasi'. Loke'pi hantir abhyāsāt parato ṇṇinmeṣu pareṣu ca ghakārādih. Kim bahunā 'cajoh kughinnyatoḥ' iti prakaraṇam samagram evātroddharaṇam arhati. Atra pūjer nyati kutvanīśedhasya sūtravārttikabhāṣyeṣv adrṣ-ṭatvān munitrayasya jīvitakāle pūgyaḥ ity eva rū-pam prācarad ity api sandehasyāvasaro jāgartti. Bhogaḥ, bhogyam; pākāḥ, pākyam; tigmam, rukmam ityādayaś śabdāḥ svaramadhyamānunuāsikayoge'pi cavargasya bahutra kavargātmanaiḥ avasthānam āvedayanti.

* * * * *

Madhyameṣu rephalakārau kvacid ekasyaiva varṇasya veśabhedāv iva drśyete. Yathā—rohitam > lohitam; śukram > śuklam; roma > loma; roraṁ-baḥ > lolambaḥ; ityādi. Anyatra vaidiko repho loka svasṛbhāṣāsu ca lakāro drśyate. Yathā—

<i>Vedaḥ</i>	<i>Samskṛtam</i>	<i>Letinā</i>	<i>Grikā</i>
<i>raghu (śīghram) laghu</i>		<i>levis</i>	<i>(he) lakhu</i>
<i>raghu (śīghram) laghu</i>		<i>levis</i>	<i>(he) lakhu</i>
<i>raṁbate</i>	<i>laṁbate</i>		

Aparatra loka eva 'kr̥po ro lah' iti prakaraṇena ras-ya latvam pāṇṇir vidadhātī. Iyam avyavasthaiva 'ralayor abhedah' iti pravādasya bījam. Anye'py etādr̥sā abhedāḥ prasiddhāḥ. Yatha bavayor abhedo vaṅgeṣu. Daḍayor laḷayoś cābhedo drāviḍeṣu. Ḍaḷayor abhedo bāhvreṇye; laḍayor abhedah kāvya-ślokeṣu.

*Padānām iva varṇānām apy evam rūḍhayaṅgika-
bhedo darśitaḥ. Tatra rūḍhāḥ sarvāsām aindya-
gauropabhāṣāṇām sādharmaṇāḥ. Yaṅgikeṣu tu kecīt
kāśucit, anye anyāsu ca dr̥śyante. Eṇo hrasvaḥ
saṃskṛta-gothikayor nāsti. Akārabahulāni saṃs-
kr̥tapadāni. Gr̥kāletine akārasyāsya sthāne prāye-
ṇa eṇam hrasvam prayuñjāte.*

Yathā—

<i>Samskṛtam</i>	<i>aṣṭau</i>	<i>navan</i>	<i>navah</i>
<i>Gr̥kā</i>	<i>hokto</i>	<i>heṇea</i>	<i>neos</i>
<i>Letinā</i>	<i>okto</i>	<i>novem</i>	<i>noves.</i>

*Dantyaṃmūrdhanyayoḥ prakṛto bhedaḥ saṃskṛta
evāsti. Tālavyaś cavargaḥ saṃskṛte cchandāyām
api dr̥śyate. Mahāprāṇās saṃskṛte daśa; cchandā-
yām catvāras saṃskṛtasadr̥śāḥ, dvau kaṭhorama-
hāprāṇau ceti ṣaṭ; gr̥kāgothikayor 'āṅgalīśarmaṇ-
yayos' ca trayah; letināyām dvau. Ūṣmāṇaḥ cchan-
dāyām āṅgalyām ca catvārah; saṃskṛtaśarmaṇya-
yos trayah; gr̥kāgothikayor dvau; letināyām ekah.
Madhyamānunāsikau prāyas sarvasādharmāṇau.
Svarāṇām bhedaprabhedaḥ bahudhā vikāre'pi mū-
lasvarā akṣatā dr̥śyante.*

*Uktavidhayā jāgraty apy uccāvace bhede sago-
trā aindyayauropabhāṣā varṇavikriyāsu darśayan-
ty eva kām api vyavasthām. Yeyam yady apy a-
sārvatrikī tathāpi yāvantam aṃśam vyāpnoti tāvati
niyogataḥ pravartata eva. Vargāṇām prathamā-
tṛtīyacaturthāḥ khara-mṛdu-ghoṣā asyā viśayah.
Tatra tālavyamūrdhanyau catavargau virālāsu
bhāṣāsu eva vartete ity'uktam. Aśāśeṣeṣu kaṇṭhya-
dantyoṣṭhyeṣu evāvakāśo'syāḥ. Vyavasthāsvarūpam*

*tāvad ittham: (1) Yatra saṃskṛtabhāṣāyām mṛdur
drśyate tatra gothikāyām kharah, śarmanyāyām
ghoṣas ca. (2) Saṃskṛte kharo gothikāyām gho-
ṣas syāt; śarmanyāyām mṛduś ca. (3) Saṃskṛte
ghoṣo gothikāyām mṛduḥ; śarmanyāyām kharas ca
iti. Āryayāpi saṅgrahaḥ—*

Mṛdukharaghoṣān kramaśaḥ

kharaghoṣamṛdūś ca darśayati|

Atha ghoṣam mṛdukharakau

gaivvāṇi gothikā ca śarmanyā||

*Atra saṃskṛtasyokto varṇaparivarttanānīyamaḥ
cchandā, grīkā, letinā, ityādinām anekabhāṣānta-
rāṇām api sādharmaṇaḥ. Tathā gothikāyā ukto nīya-
mā āṅgalaseksāṇi āṅgalī ityādinām sādharmaṇaḥ.
Atas saṃskṛta-gothike svasvavargasya pratinidhit-
vena grāhye. Śarmanyā tv ekaiva. Tatrāpi prak-
ṛṣṭaśarmanyā nikṛṣṭaśarmanyeti dvividhe bhede
prakṛṣṭairātra vivakṣitā. Evam prakṛtavarnavyat-
yāsānīyamūpekṣayā aindiyayauropabhāṣāṇām saṃ-
skṛtavargaḥ, gothikāvargaḥ; prakṛṣṭaśarmanyā iti
tredhā vibhāgaḥ kṛtaḥ. Niyamo'yam śarmanyā-
deśīyena grimmasamjñena bhāṣāvijñāninā drṣṭa iti
tadākhyaḥ grimmasiddhāntaprathām avāpa.
Athāsya katicid udāharāṇi darśayāmaḥ—*

*Saṃskṛtam—yugam, bhrātr, saptan, pitṛ, mātṛ, bhū,
tram, (dhu) duhitṛ.*

*Āṅgalī—yok, brodar, seven, bhādar, modhar, be,
. dhau, dāktar.*

*Pra-śarmanyā—jogh, prūodar, sieben, bedar, muo-
. dar, pim, du, toktar.*

Śarmanyāyām dantya-mātravyavasthito'yam niyamah; svaramṛdvoḥ kvacid uccāraṇadoṣāl lipivaikal-gāc ca parivarttanam jātam; saṃskṛte bhaṣbhāvena ghoṣavinimayas saṃvṛtta ityādayo viśeṣā apy atrā vaktavyāḥ. Sāmānyam evātropakṣiptam.'

Methods of naming sounds—In the earliest specimens of analysis of the phonetic system in Sanskrit, we find that the names of letters are formed in the following five ways:

- (1) by adding *varṇa*, *kāra*, or *iti*, to the sound,
- (2) by the unchanged sound itself, *e.g.*, *ka* for *ka*, etc.,
- (3) by adding *a* or any other vowel to a consonant,
- (4) by special terms *epha*, etc., and
- (5) names of classes of letters are also formed by the first letter of the class followed by *varga*.

Most of these different methods occur in all Prātiśākhya works. We give below some instances from the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*:

(1) *aikāra*, *aukāra* (I. 73); *lṛkāra* (I. 87); *yucarṇan* (I. 115); *icarṇa* (I. 116); *cakāreṇa* (IV. 25); *kīti-khiti-gīti-ghīti* (I. 36).

(2) *a-ha-vīsarjanīyāḥ* (I. 71); *cachayoḥ* (III. 7).

(3) *ra* (I. 39); *nul* (III. 134; IV. 2).

(4) *repha* (I. 39; IV. 35, 36).

(5) *tavarga* (III. 94); *takāra-varga*, *cakāra-varga* (IV. 95).

Methods of expressing the roots—In the expression of the roots various methods have been adopted by early authors of grammatical treatises. The understanding of these methods is very important to know and to trace the gradual changes of roots from their original forms. The *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya* expresses the roots in many instances:

(1) Roots have inflectional forms adding *a*, *i*, or *u*.

E.g., *vr̥dha* (III. 114); *saheḥ* (III. 123); *śaseḥ*, (III. 124); *ruhan* (IV. 45).

(2) The third person singular is inflected.

E.g., *sīdateḥ* (III. 59); *siñcateḥ* (III. 64).

(3) Where the consonant ending is left without any alteration.

E.g. *vr̥dha-vr̥joh* (III. 114); *styāstanyoh* (III. 70).

Yāska in his *Nirukta* terms these forms dhātu, but he, again, by no means follows any uniform system. Generally he gives the third person singular of the present tense to express the roots, and occasionally he uses a verbal noun for the same purpose.

The methods adopted by Pāṇini to express the roots are not quite consistent. He uses the roots in the following places;

(1) In the old forms: third person singular of the present tense, parasmaipada (only in a few instances).

E.g., *Indhibhavatibhyām ca* (Pāṇini. I. 2. 6)

Etyedhatyūthsu (Pāṇini. VI. 1. 89).

Eter liṇi (Pāṇini. VII. 4. 24).

(2) By adding vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, etc. to facilitate inflection.

E.g., *a*:

mṛḍa mṛḍa gūḍha kuṣa klīṣa vada vasaḥ
(Pāṇini. I. 2. 7).

i:

grahi-svapi (Pāṇini. I. 2. 8); *gami rechi*
(Pāṇini. I. 3. 29).

u:

ūrṇu (Pāṇini. I. 2. 3).

(3) By leaving the ending natural consonant.

E.g., *svidi* (Pāṇini. I. 2. 19).

(4) In their natural form.

E.g., *dī-dhī-ve-vīṭām* (Pāṇini. I. 1. 6).

(5) In dhātu-pāṭha-forms, or with indicatory letters added.

E.g., *śīṇ* (Pāṇini. I. 2. 19).

pūṇ (Pāṇini. I. 2. 22).

From these statements it is evident that before Pāṇini, the early grammarians understood by dhātu the parts of the verb, specially the third person singular present parasmaipada which is the earliest form technically used.

In the early treatises generally the words already inflected are used with further inflections and in some places the words which are naturally un-

inflected are also in use. Thus in the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* we see *dyaveḥ*, as genitive of *dyāvī*, (III. 69); *tataḥsau* (III. 71); *stuvantīyām* as locative of *stuvanti* (III. 72); *teṣu* as locative plural of *te*, (III. 121); *kṛdhau* as locative of *kṛdhi*, (III. 33); and etc.

SECTION I.

VARṆASAMĀMNĀYA OR THE ENUMERATION OF LETTERS.

It is already stated that this Prātiśākhya is divided into eight adhyāyas or chapters. Among these, one chapter is devoted for Varṇasamāmnāya, one to illustrate the Saṃjñas (names or nouns having special meaning) and Paribhāṣas (technical phraseology, which teaches the methods of applying the rules of grammar), which are used throughout the work, another and a major portion of a fourth one, for the description of the rules related to svara or accent, and the remaining portions for the treatment of saṃskāra or euphonic changes, which include *varṇāgama*, *ādeśa*, *lopa*, *prakṛtibhāva*, etc. The Varṇasamāmnāya (enumeration of letters) is described in the eighth adhyāya, which is a smaller one than the other chapters. The matters connected with this chapter are briefly summarized hereunder.

The letters or varṇas are to be classified under three major heads: (1) Svara, (2) Vyañjana, and (3) Ayogavāha. The (mūla)—svara and sandhi letters fall under the first; the sparśa, antashtha, and ūṣman letters under the second; and the jihvāmūliya, upadhmānīya, anusvāra, visarjanīya, nāsikya, and yama letters under the third. In total 65 letters are described by the author of this Prātiśākhya.

Professor Hannes Skold has also given a description of alphabetic sounds of the *Śukla-yajurvedic* text, which is as follows:

“We see that the phonological system of the Prātiśākhya begins with eight simple vowels, the short ones coming before the long ones in the enumeration; then follow the four diphthongs (e, ai, o, au); the anusvāra, being either consonant or vowel, next follows; then come the five *vargas*, in which the first consonant is unsounded, the second and fourth are aspirates and the last one is the nasal; then the four semi-vowels and the eight ūṣmans. From the following *sūtras* we gather that the order of the *vargas* in the prātiśākhya is the usual one. As we see, the points discussed by the commentators are left unclear.

The Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya.

The evidence of the Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya is quite perplexing.

In the first place, as Weber has brilliantly shown, it refers to two quite different enumerations of sounds in I. 33, sqq. and in VIII. 1 sqq. (He suspects the whole eighth adhyāya to be a later addition.)

The *sūtras* referring to the order of the sounds in the former passage are the following:

I. 44. “Sim ādito’ṣṭau svarāṇām, sim is the name of the first eight vowels”;

I. 45. “sandhyakṣaram param, the rest are called diphthongs”;

I. 47. “Vyañjanam kādi, k etc. are called consonants”;

I. 49. “sparśeṣv eva saṁkhyā, only the sparśas are counted (*i.e.*, are designated by their place in the respective varga);

I. 50. “dvau dvau prathamau jit, jit is the name of the two first consonants of each varga”;

I. 54. “dviṭīyacaturthās soṣmāṇaḥ, the second and fourth of each varga are aspirated”.

From these *sūtras* we gather, that the alphabet here alluded to had eight monophthongs as that of the *R̥gveda-prātiśākhya*. The order was probably: monophthongs, diphthongs, explosives with their nasals, the sibilants (including *h*): jit seems to have been the algebraic formula for *aghoṣa* for in I. 51. we are told that the *ūṣmans* are so called except *h* (which, as we know, was sounded). The system also knew the anusvāra, visarjanīya, jihvāmūliya, and upadhmānīya, which are mentioned, *e.g.*, in I. 41. though, they perhaps had no signs of their own (if really the Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya presupposes a *written* alphabet). Thus also the *yamas* and the *nāsikya* (mentioned, *e.g.*, I. 74). The vargas must have been those usually employed, for they begin with *k*, the first two are not sounded, and the second and fourth are aspirated.

In the beginning of the eighth adhyāya, complete enumeration of sounds is given. The text runs as follows:

VIII. 1. “Athāto varṇasamāmnāyam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ, now we are going to explain the table of sounds.”

VII. 2. "tatra svarāḥ prathamam, first come the vowels."

VIII. 3. "a iti ā iti ā³ iti."

VIII. 4. "i iti ī iti ī³ iti."

VIII. 5. "u iti ū iti ū³ iti."

VIII. 6. "ṛ iti ṝ iti ṝ³ iti."

VIII. 7. "ḷ iti ḹ iti ḹ³ iti."

VIII. 8. "Atha sandhyakṣarāṇi, now come the diphthongs."

VIII. 9. "e iti e³ iti."

VIII. 10. "o iti o³ iti."

VIII. 11. "ai iti ai³ iti."

VIII. 12. "au iti au³ iti."

VIII. 13. "iti svarāḥ, these are the vowels."

VIII. 14. "atha vyañjanāni, now come the consonants."

VIII. 15. "kiti khiti giti ghiti ṇiti": kavargaḥ.

VIII. 16. "citi chiti jiti jhiti ñiti": cavargaḥ.

VIII. 17. "ṭiti ṭhiti ḍiti ḍhiti ṇiti": ṭavargaḥ.

VIII. 18. "ṭiti thiti diti dhiti ṇiti": tavargaḥ.

VIII. 19. "piti phiti bitī bhiti mīti": pavargaḥ.

VIII. 20. "iti sparśāḥ, these are called sparśas."

VIII. 21. "athāntasfḥāḥ: yiti, riti, liti, viti, now come the semi-vowels: y, r, l, v."

VIII. 22. "athoṣmāṇaḥ: śiti ṣiti siti hiti, then the sibilants: ś, ṣ, s, h."

VIII. 23. “athāyogavāhāḥ, now follow those sounds which cannot appear alone.”

VIII. 24. “aḥ iti visarjanīyaḥ.”

VIII. 25. “ $\underset{\sim}{\text{ka}}$ iti jīhvāmūliyaḥ.”

VIII. 26. “ $\underset{\sim}{\text{pa}}$ iti upadhmānīyaḥ.”

VIII. 27. “am ity anusvāraḥ.”

VIII. 28. “hum iti nāsikyaḥ.”

VIII. 29. “kum khum gum ghum iti yamāḥ.”

VIII. 30. etc. “pañcaṣaṣṭivarṇā brahmarāśīr ātmā vācaḥ.”

VIII. 31. “yatkiñcid vānmayam loke
sarvam aṭṭa prayujyate,

these 65 sounds form the nucleus of Holy writ, they are the soul of speech, all every day words are also implied in them.”

The numbers of the sounds is once more stressed in VIII. 43. sq., where we read:

“Trayoviṃśatir ucyante
svarāś śabdārthacintakaiḥ |

Dvācatvāriṃśad vyañjanāny
etāvān varṇasaṃgrahaḥ ||,

the experts on sounds and meanings say, that there are 23 vowels and 42 consonants. This is the number of all sounds together.

But the author adds:

VIII. 45. “tasmin lalhajīhvāmūliyopadhmānīyanāsikyā na santi mādhyandinānām, among these the Mādhyandinas do not have l, lh, the jīhvāmūliya, the upadhmāniya and the nāsikya.”

VIII. 46. “*ḷkāraḥ plutās cōktavarjam*, thus also *ḷ* and the pluta vowels except in cases already mentioned (in II. 50-53).”

The enumeration given in VIII. 1. sqq. differs from that commonly used in the following respects:

(1) the pluta vowels are placed in the alphabet;

(2) *e, o, ai, au* instead of *e, ai, o, au*;

(3) the *visarga*, *jihvāmūliya*, *upadhmānīya*, *anusvāra*, *nāsikya*, and the *yamas* are placed after the sibilants;

(4) the sounds are 65 instead of 49 in the usual alphabet. The Mādhyandina authorities do not acknowledge *l, lh* (as substitution for *ḍ, ḍh*, as the *kāṇvas?*), *ḷ*, nor the pluta vowels except in a few cases, sacred by tradition.

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SUMMARY.

The systems of the *prāuśākhyas* and the *Śikṣā* deviate but slightly from the one which we follow. They have in common the order of the sounds proper: vowels, diphthongs, the five *vargas*, semi-vowels, sibilants. Such sounds as the *visarjanīya*, the *anusvāra*, the *yamas*, etc., forms the changeable part of the complex, while the *vargas* are the constant element, common to them all. The order of the vowels (with the diphthongs), the semi-vowels and the sibilants was liable to change.”¹

(1) *Papers on Pāṇini* by Hannes Skold. pp. 10. ff. 1926.

The sacred Veda, which is in the form of trayī (ṛk, yajus, and sāma) and all wordly discourses, are based on these letters. There are no 'ḷa' 'ḷha' (which come as substitutes to 'ḍa' and 'dha' of ṭavarga) jihvāmūliya, upadhmāniya, nāsikya, l (long), and some plutas, for Mādhyandinas."

This treats also of the characteristics of akṣara and pada. In addition to the description of deities presiding over the letters or varṇas (varṇadevatā), the four kinds of pada (i) nāma, (ii) ākhyāta, (iii) upasarga, and (iv) nipāta, by name, and their nature, goṭra, and the deities presiding over each kinds of pada are also portrayed in this chapter.

Pure men must study the Vedas in pure places, as sūdras and patitas are prohibited from hearing them. The oratorical study, and the study with meaning, of the Vedas will accomplish salvation, heaven, fame, and duration of life.

Tables which show the classification of letters, etc., are appended herewith.

2. *Agnāṣi* (Sam. VIII. 10), *Lājñi* (Sam. XXIII. 8), *śācīṣi* (Sam. XXIII. 8), etc. Only in these and like places pluta is accepted by Mādhyandinas.

Siddheshvara Varman infers the prescription that the cerebral ḷ and ḷh, the jihvāmūliya and the Upadhmāniya did not exist among the Madhyandinas and so connect them with Madhyadeśa—the Saurasenī-speaking area. Vide His *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, 1929, p. 54.

CLASSIFICATION OF LETTERS (VARṆA) ACCORDING TO
ŚUKLAYAJURVEDA-PRĀTISĀKHYA.

(VIII. 1—6) Vowels (Svara) 23.		(VIII. 7—12) Consonants (Vyañjana) 33.		(VIII. 13—19) Ayogavāha 9.	
Original Vowels Mūlasvara.	Diphthongs Sandhyakṣara.	Mutes Sparśa.	Semi-vowels Antastha.	Spirants Uṣman.	
(1) a	(16) e	(kavarga) (24) ka, kha, ga, gha, ŋa. (Cavarga)	(49) ya	(53) śa	(57) jhivāmūliya (≈ka)
(2) ā	(17) e3	(29) ca, cha, ja, jha, ña. (Tavarga)	(50) ra	(54) ṣa	(58) upadhmā- niya (≈pa)
(3) ā3	(18) ai	(34) ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa. (Tavarga)	(51) la	(55) sa	(59) anusvāra
(4) i	(19) ai3	(39) ta, tha, da, dha, na. (Pavarga)	(52) va	(56) ha	(60) visarjaniya
(5) ī	(20) o	(44) pa, pha, ba, bha, ma.			(61) nāsikya (hum) this is very common in R̥ksākḥā.
(6) ī3	(21) o3				(62) Yama-kum
(7) u	(22) au				(63) Yma-khum
(8) ū	(23) au3				(64) Yama-gum
(9) ū3					(65) Yama-ghum
(10) r					
(11) r̄					
(12) r̄3					
(13) l					
(14) l̄					
(15) l̄3					

The Positions of the mouth from which the letters originate, and the Deities presiding over the letters according to the Śukla-yajurveda-prāśākhya.

Āgneya (VIII. 36)	Nairitya (VIII. 37)	Saumya (VIII. 38)	Raudra (VIII. 39)	Āśvina (VIII. 40)	Vāyavya (VIII. 41)	Vaiśvadeva (VIII. 42)	Remarks.
(1) a (2) ā (3) ā 3 (4) ha (5) vi- sarjanīya.	(6) r (7) ṛ (8) ṛ3 (9) ṛka (10) ka (11) kha (12) ga (13) gha (14) ṇa	(15) i (16) ī (17) ī3 (18) ca (19) cha (20) ja (21) jha (22) ṇa (23) śa (24) e* (25) ya	(26) ep̄ha (27) i (28) ī (29) ī3 (30) la (31) sa (32) ta (33) tha (34) da (35) dha (36) na	(37) u (38) ū (39) ū3 (40) va (41) e* (42) ṛpa (43) pa (44) pha (45) ba (46) bha (47) na	(48) ṣa (49) ṭa (50) ṭha (51) ḍa (52) ḍha (53) ṇa	(54) Yama 1 kum (55) " 2 khum (56) " 3 gum (57) " 4 ghum (58) anusvāra 1 (59) nāsikya 1	(60, 61) ai and au3 is a combination of a + e, the 'a' is Kaṇṭhya and 'e' is tālavya. (62, 63) au and au3 is a combination of a + o, 'a' is kaṇṭhya and 'o' is oṣṭhya. *(64) includes 'e3' also. *(65) includes 'o3' also.
Kaṇṭhya (I. 71)	Jihvāmūṭhya (I. 65)	Tālavya (I. 66)	Dantya (I. 68, 69)	Oṣṭhya (I. 70)	Mūrdhanya* (I. 67)	Nāsikasthānīya (I. 74)	

CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS (PADA).

According to the Śuklayajurveda-prātiśākhya.

<i>Pada.</i>	<i>Gotra.</i>	<i>Devatā.</i>
Nāma	Bhārgava	Vāyavya
Ākhyātā	Bhāradvāja	Saumya
Upasarga	Vāsiṣṭha	Āgneya
Nipāta	Kāśyapa	Vāruṇa

Note—(1) According to Pāṇini there is no dīrgha (long) for the letter ‘l’. But Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtika, maintains that it has dīrgha-form also. Āpiśali has accepted dīrgha for both the letters ‘r’ and ‘l’. According to the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* there is no dīrgha for ‘l’, for want of its employment. As ‘*Kṛptaśikhā*’ is illustrated in the sūtra “*Guroranṛto’nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*”, we can assume that the dīrgha for the letter ‘l’ is optional.

There is no hrasva (short) to the four letters—e, o, ai, and au.

Pada.—*Pada* is defined in the eighth chapter as follows: “*Akṣarasamudāyaḥ padam*”, “*Akṣaram vā*”. Pāṇini defines it “*Suṭīniantam padam*” (I. 4. 14). From this it can be inferred that the terms *sup* and *tin* are unknown to earlier authors and especially to Kātyāyana.

The most usual term used in Sanskrit works for the syllable is *akṣara*, which does not move as an adjunct to another: in other words, which stands alone.

The four-fold division of words—The four-fold division of words into: *nāman* (noun), *ākhyāta* (verb), *upasarga* (preposition), and *nipāta* (particle) is found in the present treatise as well as in other Prātiśākhya.³ The same division is found with slight change (that is only with regard to the last two), in the earliest Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* of the Buddhist Tolkāppiyān, which was read in Pāṇḍyan’s assembly, and the date of which can be assumed as not later than the eighth century A. C., for by the tenth century the whole Pāṇḍya kingdom had fallen under Cola kings. Again, the same division is found in Yāska and in Kauṭaliya. Professor Weber has already remarked the general identity of the technical terms used by Yāska and the

3. Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya, Ch. VIII. “*Tac caturdhā nāmākhyātopasarganipātāḥ*”. Ṛk-prātiśākhya. XII. 5—8. “*Nāmākhyātam upasargo nipātās catvāry āhuḥ padajātāni śābdāḥ*”. Taittirīya-prātiśākhya, I. 15; VI. 4; X. 9; XIV. 8 (upasarga). Vide Professor Whitney’s remarks on p. 432. Atharva-prātiśākhya (edition Whitney) I. 1. “*Caturṇām padajātānām nāmākhyātopasarganipātānām sāndhyapadyau guṇau prātijñam*”.

Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya.⁴ In all these works *pada* is used as the general denomination of a word.⁵ Pāṇini treats of the parts of speech in a more complicated and difficult method and he mentions upasarga and nipāta in the same form. For nāman he uses the artificial term *sup* and for ākhyāta *tin* or *tinanta*. Goldstücker in his *Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit Literature* (pp. 224—225) has remarked well with regard to the development in Pāṇini's view of nipātas or particles. He says: "Pāṇini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of nipātas or particles: he then continues, that they are upasargas when they are joined to 'verbal action' (i.e., to a verb); gatis, if the verbal root to which they are attached become developed into a noun; and that they are karmapravacanīyas if they are detached and govern a noun. Of such a distinction there is no trace in the *Nirukta*". Pāṇini uses the term upasarga without definition as it was already in use in his time. On the other hand Yāska defines it well as well as the other divisions of the words. The *Nirukta* seems to be the oldest among the works in the field. So far as we know for the present we can assume that the authors of other works have taken this system of four-fold division from Yāska's *Nirukta*.

Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyengar also has shown in his *Considerations on some aspects of*

4. Weber, *Indische Studien* IV. p. 76.

5. *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* I. 98; *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* II. 12; *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* I. 54; *Atharva-prātiśākhya* III. 95.

Ancient Indian Polity (Sir Subramanya Aiyer lectures of the University of Madras, 1914), that the four-fold classification of words is distinctly pre-Pāṇinian. He observes:⁶

“Mr. Rajaraja Varman states that according to Pāṇini, (*e.g.*, Suptināntam padam, I. 4. 14), and followers of Pāṇini like Amara (*e.g.*, subantam ca tināntam ca padam), there are only two parts of speech. Mr. Rajaraja Varman is consequently of opinion that Kauṭalya’s classification is distinctly pre-Pāṇinian”.

6. Appendix. pp. 121-122.

SECTION II.

SAMJÑAS AND PARIBHĀṢAS.

The subject-matter of the first adhyāya is summarised hereunder :

The *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* treats of the rules regarding *svara* and *saṃskāra*, and its study is conducive to *abhyudaya* or prosperity.

The main cause for the origin of voice or *śabda* is *vāyu* or air, and the voice is in the form of *vāyu*. This *vāyu* occupies the heart, the throat, and the head of a body, by the exertion of a human being. There are two kinds of actions or *karṇa*, for the appearance of *śabda*. They are called *saṃvṛta* (closed) and *vivṛta* (opened). The *vāyu* which comes from the heart, the throat, and the head, will appear¹ in the form of different sounds : *ka*, *kha*, etc., by the action which is stated to be of two kinds.

1. The same view is held by Pāṇini also in his *Śikṣā*—

“*Ātmā buddhyā sametyārthān mano yuñkte vivakṣayā|*
Manah kāyāgnim āhanti sa prerayati mārutam||
Mārutas tūrasi caran mandram janayati svaram|” etc.

The authors of *Saṅgīta* works also hold the same view. See *Saṅgītasudhākara* by Śārṅgadeva, Chap. I. Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series.

Pāṇini has in another place also expressed the same view in his *Śikṣā* :

“*Sodirṇo mūrdhny abhikato vaktram āpadya mārutaḥ|*
Varṇān janayate teṣāṃ vibhāgaḥ pañcadhā smṛtaḥ.||
Svarataḥ kālataś sthānāt prayatnānupradānataḥ|
Iti varṇavidāḥ prāhur nipuṇam tan nibodhata.||”

There is no difference between the letter 'om' and the word 'atha' except in their employment: the former should be used only at the beginning of the Svādhyāya and the latter at the beginning of the Bhāṣya.²

The student, who is very clean by pādaśauca, ācamana (rinsing the mouth) etc., must choose a holy place and a seat according to his wish, for the purpose of the study of the Vedas. The season preferable for the study, is *hemanta* (cold or winter season comprising the months of *Mārgaśīrṣa* and *Pauṣa*) and the time is the fourth *prahara* (the eighth part of a whole day, which is a period roughly reckoned at three hours) of the night. The student who is studying Veda (according to traditional method) must not walk³ more than one *yojanā* (a measure of distance equal to four *krośas* or eight or

2. Here the etymology of the word bhāṣya is *bhāṣyate vedārthaḥ yasmims tad bhāṣyam*, and it means Kalpa-sūtra works also.

Yājñavalkya has also observed in his Śikṣā, that before svādhyāya, the praṇava must be used:

“*Praṇavam prāk prayuñjīta vyāhṛtīs tadanantaram.*
Sāvitrīm cānupūrvyeṇa tato vedam samārabhet.||”

3. The sūtra is “*yojanān na param*” (I. 24). Here Paṇḍit Yugalakiśora Śarma states:

“*Atra kaścid—adhyayanam kurvan yojanāt param adhvānam na gacched iti vadan yojanaparyantam madhyemārgam paped ity āha.*”

From this statement it can be inferred that there were some other commentaries also to this Prātiśākhya, in addition to Uvvaṭa's bhāṣya, and that they have been perused by the Paṇḍit. But this statement extracted here is not acceptable, because Āgamic and Kūrmapurāṇic words do not support the same. See foot-note, pp. 9 and 10. *Śuklayajusprātiśākhya*, Benares edition, 1888.

nine miles). He must take food which is sweet and mixed with ghee. The adoption of the above methods will prevent the student from bad-pronunciation of letters, which can be observed in the following manner:

(1) 'Pronunciation of a vowel into two moras instead of three moras.

(2) Pronunciation of a vowel into one mora instead of two moras.

(3) Pronunciation of anunāsika into ekadēśaraṅga.

E.g., *Mahām indraḥ* (Sam. VII. 39).

Faulty recitations.—Kātyāyana mentions the defective recitations in two of his aphorisms IV. 162, 163, in the following manner:

4. Yājñavalkya, in his Śikṣā, has narrated some pāṭhadoṣas (false readings) which are calculated to be fourteen in number, and they are in the following manner:

“*śaṅkitam bhītam udghuṣṭam avyaktam sānunāsikam |*
Kākasvaram śīrṣagatam tathā sthānavivarjitam ||
Viśvaram vīrasam caiva viśliṣṭam viṣamāhatam |
Vyākulam tāluhīnam ca pāṭhadoṣās caturdaśa’”

To avoid these defects, he has also prescribed special routine of business to be adopted by the student who is studying the sacred hymns. The same fourteen defects are stated in *Nārādī Śikṣā* also, but as gītidoṣa (false singing). *Nārādī Śikṣā*, I. 3. 12.

“According to Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā the minute details regarding the general conditions of correct pronunciation are: (1) sound health; (2) calm temperament; (3) freedom from nervousness; (4) abstention from omission of sounds, overstress, singsong and faltering tone; (5) beginning and end of the speech to be consistently distinct; (6) abstention from habits of roughness, projecting the lips, indistinct pronunciation, nasal twang, broken speech, and rigidity of the tongue; (7) good teeth and lips.” Vide *Critical studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, pp. 10-11, 1929.

(1) “*Ūṣmabhyah pañcameṣu yamāpattir doṣaḥ*, the change of pañcama letters (fifth letter of a mute-series) into yama is considered as defective.”

The above rule needs some explanation. The rule IV. 102, says that the mute which is preceded by any one of the spirants or semi-vowels is doubled. And in a further rule the change is prescribed to the doubled letter, and this change will not take place in the above circumstance. So yama should not be pronounced in the following places :

Aśmmā (Saṃ. XVIII. 13).

Saśnnitamam (Saṃ. I. 8), etc.

(2) “*Sphoṭanam ca kakāravarge rā sparśāt*, perhaps the ‘sphoṭana’ is considered to be a defect in a place where a ka-mute-series is preceded by any mute-letter.”

Here the ‘sphoṭana’ means ‘separate pronunciation’. Uvvaṭa has defined it as follows: “*sphoṭanam nāma piṇḍībhūtasya saṃyogasya prthag uccāraṇam*”. So according to some, in the following places—

kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt (Saṃ. XIII. 20),

vaṣaṭkṛtam (Saṃ. VII. 26),

yakṛtklomānam (Saṃ. XIX. 85), etc.,

we have to pronounce the groups ‘tkā’, ‘ṭkr’, and ‘tklo’ without separating the letters as ‘t|kā’, ‘ṭ|kr’, and ‘ṭ|klo’.

Except these two rules nothing is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his Prātiśākhya. But we see in other works on the same subject like the *Yājñavalkya-*

śikṣā, *Nāradya-śikṣā* etc., several defects on recital are described with much elaboration.

The rules and methods to be followed by a student of Veda are extensively⁵ described in the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*, in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, and in the *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa*.

All the discourses related to speech are established in the four varieties of śabda: *tiṅ* (verbs), *kṛt* (a class of affixes used to form derivatives: nouns, adjectives, etc., from roots), *taddhita* (a class of affixes added to primary bases to form derivative or secondary bases from them) and four kinds of *samāsa* (compound). There are differences of opinion in the number of samāsas. Some have opined that there are only four, while others say they are six in number. But here as the sūtra contains the word *catuṣṭayasamāsa* (I. 27) we can assume that Kātyāyana has approved of only four kinds of samāsas, and the additional two, *dvigu* and *karmadhāraya*, which are approved by some other later grammarians, will fall as the parts of *tatpuruṣa*.

After this, the different positions (*sthāna*) and organs (*kaṇa*), in the exposition of letters are described, which are mainly the subject-matter of the *Śikṣā* works. The *āśya-prayatna*⁶ (different efforts of the mouth in the production of articulate sounds)

5. See foot-note, pages 9 and 10, *Śuklayajurveda-prātiśākhya*, Benares edition, 1888.

6. The *āśyaprayatna* described in the *Śikṣā*-works is briefly summarised by Uvvaṇa in his commentary on Ī. 72.

also is the main subject of the Śikṣā-works, but as Kātyāyana is silent with regard to these efforts of mouth, we have to understand them directly from the Śikṣā-works. He has also not pointed out the names of the Śikṣā-works, from which he has extracted the subject-matter, dealt with in his Prātiśākhya.

The classification of spoken alphabet—Among the authors of the Prātiśākhya and Śikṣā-works and their commentators, there are differences of opinion and many-sided controversies, with regard to the standardisation of the number of letters. From the eighth chapter of the present treatise it can be understood that according to Kātyāyana there are 65 letters.

In his work, the author of the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* has not stated explicitly the total number of letters in the spoken alphabet with reference to the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda*, nor has he classified them distinctly. This has given scope for discussion among commentators resulting in diverse classifications. Somayājña (author of the commentary *Tribhāṣya-ratna* on the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*) has accepted sixty letters, while Gārgyagopālayajvan (author of the commentary *Vaidikābharṇa* on the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*) says that the letters are only 59 in

The āsyaprayatna is divided into six kinds. They are: (1) *saṃvṛta*, (2) *vivṛta*, (3) *asprṣṭa*, (4) *sprṣṭa*, (5) *ṛṣatsprṣṭa*, and (6) *ardhasprṣṭa*. The letter 'a' is *saṃvṛta* and the remaining vowels are *vivṛta*. All the vowels are included under *asprṣṭa*. The *sparṣa* letters, *antasthas*, and *āśmas* with *anuvāra*, are called *sprṣṭa*, *īṣatsprṣṭa*, and *ardhasprṣṭa* respectively.

number. Māhiṣeya states only 53 letters. There is similar diversity of opinion among the authors of the Śikṣā-works also. For instance, the *Śaṃbhu-śikṣā*⁷ states 63 or 64 letters, the *Kālanirṇaya-śikṣā* presents 73, and the *Lakṣmīkānta-śikṣā* describes 108. It can be clearly perceived that the main basis for the classification of letters is sthāna, karaṇa, āsyaprayatna, etc. It is hoped that Kātyāyana's enumeration of letters, is based on karaṇa. The *Āraṇya-śikṣā*, which presents 65 letters, is also based on karaṇa in its classification of letters. In the same manner the *Kālanirṇaya-śikṣā* is considered to be kālāpradhāna (i.e., gives importance to the measurement of time). Somayājña, who has gathered material from the three old commentators, Māhiṣeya, Vararuci, and Ātreya on the *Taittirīya-prātisākhya*, to write his commentary on the same work, generally takes care to mention the points wherein he differs from ancient commentators, but makes no reference to his disagreement with Māhiṣeya in regard to the classification of letters. In respect of the *Śukla-yajurveda*, however, as Kātyāyana has distinctly stated the total number of letters and classified them in a clear manner, he has left no scope for any discussion on the subject.

The description of the sthāna, karaṇa, āsyaprayatna etc., of these letters is the subject-matter of the Śikṣā-works, even though Kātyāyana has defined briefly the first two: sthāna and karaṇa. Among

7. *Śaṃbhu-śikṣā*, verse 3. Weber's edition of the treatise in his *Indische Studien*, Vol. IV, p. 348, 349, *

these 65 letters, for 12 letters the sthāna and karaṇa are the same. The sthāna of the letters are shown separately in the second table, annexed with the subject-matter of the eighth chapter. Now a table showing the karaṇa of letters is appended herewith.

Producing organs or Karāṇa of articulate sounds

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Jihvāgra (Tip of the tongue) (I. 76, 77.)	Jihvāgra-prati- veṣṭāna (Rolling back the tip of the tongue) (I. 78.)	Jihvāmādhya (Middle of the tongue) (I. 79.)	Dantāgra (Tip of the teeth) (I. 81.)	Nāsikāmūla (Root of the nose) (I. 82.)	Hanumūla (Base of the jaw) (I. 83.)	Hanumādhya and (Middle of the jaw) (I. 84.)	Hanumādhya and (I. 85.)	Hanumādhya and (I. 86.)	Letters to which the karāṇa are the same (I. 80.)
(1) i (2) ī (3) ṛ (4) ṛ (5) ṛ (6) ṛ (7) ṛ (8) ṛ (9) ṛ (10) ṛ (11) ṛ	(12) ṣa (13) ṭa (14) ṭha (15) ḍa (16) ḍha (17) ṇa	(18) i (19) ī (20) ṛ (21) ṛ (22) cha (23) ja (24) jha (25) ṇa (26) ṣa (27) ya (28) e (29) e	(30) va	(31) kuṇi (32) kṇi (33) guṇi (34) gṇi	(35) r (36) ṛ (37) ṛ (38) ka (39) kha (40) ga (41) gha (42) ṇa (43) anus- (44) jihvā- mūliya	(45) a (46) ā (47) ā (48) ha (49) Visar- janiya	(50) ai (51) ai	(52) au (53) au aw	(54) u (55) ū (56) ū (57) o (58) o (59) pa (60) pha (61) ba (62) bha (63) ma (64) upadh- māniya (65) hūm (nāsikya)

Note: The origin of the letters 'ai' and 'au' is by the combination of 'a' (kaṇṭhya) and 'i' (tālavya), and 'a' (kaṇṭhya) and 'o' (oṣṭhya) respectively. According to some authors the former has half mora, and the latter 1½ moras. "Ardhamātrā tu kaṇṭhasya ekāraiārayor bharet". $a \frac{1}{2} + e \frac{1}{2} > ai$, $a \frac{1}{2} + o \frac{1}{2} > au$. As Kātyāyana has stated that the former letter has one mora, this opinion seems to be not favour-

Then he treats of the *Samjñas* and *Paribhāṣas* which are very essential in understanding the correct meaning of *sūtras*, because the whole *sūtra* work is constructed on the basis of these *Samjñas* and *Paribhāṣas*. This work contains some *Samjñas* and *Paribhāṣas* which are uncommon to other *Prātiśākhya* works. The technicality and the explanation of some of the *Samjñas* and *Paribhāṣas*, which are used in the work, are not described by the author, and hence it will lead to the conclusion that they belong to the old grammarians. As they are frequently in use in the field of this literature, and as their technicality and explanation are well-known to the scholars, it is just to think that there is no necessity for their description.

There are 47 *Samjñas* defined in this chapter, the knowledge of which is very essential for a student of the *Prātiśākhya*. They are summarised hereunder.

(1) *Upadhā*⁸ (I. 35).

The penultimate letter of a word is called 'upadhā'.

E.g., *Mahān indraḥ* (*Sam.* VII. 39).

Here, the letter 'ā' is 'upadhā'.

Kātyāyana says: *antyād varṇāt pūrva upadhā* (I. 35). This definition occurs in the *Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya* (I. 92). This term is absent in the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*. This definition of *upadhā* slightly differs from the later system of *Pāṇini*, but

8. A sound preceding a final sound is called its 'upadhā'.

this very little change makes clear the difference between Pāṇini's system who defines *alo'ntyāt pūrva upadhā* (II. 3. 48), and of his predecessors. The difference depends on the word *alah*. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* has discussed the reason of the use *alah* in the following manner: *kim idam algrahanam antyaviśeṣaṇam, antyanirdeśas cet saṅghāta-pratiśedhaḥ*. The use of *alah* is to avoid making it to apply to the indicatory suffixes. In *Prātiśākhya*s this precaution is not necessary, because such symbols are not used in those works. Professor Whitney remarks that in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* upadhā has a more general signification (page 59 of his edition of the *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*).

(2) *Natiḥ* (I. 42).

The change of the 'dantya'-letters into 'mūrdhanya' is called 'nati'.

(3) *Savarṇa*⁹ (I. 43).

The letter which is equal to another one by 'sthāna', 'karaṇa' and 'prayatna', is called 'savarṇa'. This term is defined by Kātyāyana by the sūtra *samānasthānakaraṇāsyaprayatnas savarṇaḥ* (I. 43). Pāṇini defines this with the omission of the word *karaṇa*: *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam* (I. 1. 9).

E.g., *Pra arpayatu > prārpayatu* (Sam. I. 1).

9. "Mukhanāsike ye varṇā ucyante te 'nunāsikāḥ."

Samānāsyaprayatnā ye te savarṇā iti smṛtāḥ."||

The sounds uttered in the mouth and nose together are called nasalized. Those produced by a like effort of the mouth are styled similar. The term 'savarṇa, similar', applied to sounds differing in quantity only, and not in quality.

(4) *Sim.* (I. 44).

The first eight vowels of the 'varṇasamāmnāya' are styled 'sim'.

E.g., *a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; r, ṛ.*

Note: In varṇasamāmnāya the 'plutas' (letters having three moras) are also included. But here, they are not calculated, because they have nothing to do with euphonic changes.

(5) *Sandhyakṣara*¹⁰ (I. 45).

E, ai, o, au, these four letters are termed 'sandhyakṣara'.

Note: Here also the 'pluta'-letters are not included.

(6) *Bhāvī* (I. 46).

Except 'a' and 'ā' the remaining vowels are called 'bhāvī' (i, ī; u, ū; ṛ, ṛ; ḷ, ḷ; e, ai; o, au).

(7) *Vyañjanam* (I. 47).

Consonants beginning from 'ka' and ending with 'uṣman'-letters are called 'vyañjana'.

(8) *Samyoga*. (I. 48).

The consonant which is combined with another consonant without the intervention of any other letter, is called 'samyoga'. Kātyāyana defines the term

10. The term 'sandhyakṣara' means literally 'syllable of combination', it is the usual name for a diphthong. These diphthongs are composed of combined vowels. This Prātiśākhya defines (I. 73) only 'ai' and 'au' as composed of two different elements (the commentator defines them to be $1\frac{1}{2}+1\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{2}+1=1\frac{1}{2}$, moras respectively) and directs (IV. 142) them to be treated as simple sounds without reason, for giving the same precept as to 'e' and 'o'.

'saṃyoga' *anantaram saṃyogaḥ*, (I. 48), while Pāṇini *halo'nantarās saṃyogaḥ* (I. 1. 7). The latter author has included the term *hal* in his definition which is the result of the influence of his Śiva-sūtras. Generally in older works like Prātiśākhya, Śikṣas, etc., the new term *hal* will not suit for consonants or vyañjanas.

(9) *Jit* (I. 50, 51).

'Ka', 'kha'; 'ca', 'cha'; 'ṭa', 'ṭha'; 'ta', 'tha'; 'pa', 'pha'; 'śa', 'ṣa', 'sa', these letters are called 'jit'.

(10) *Mut* (I. 52).

Śa, ṣa, sa, these letters are called 'mut'.

(11) *Dhi* (I. 53).

Ga, gha, ṇa; ja, jha, ña; ḍa, ḍha, ṇa; da, dha, ṇa; ba, bha, ma; ya, ra, la, va, ha, these letters are called 'dhi'.

(12) *Soṣman*¹¹ (I. 54).

Kha, cha, ṭha, tha, pha; gha, jha, ḍha, dha, bha, these letters are called 'soṣman'.

(13) *Hrasva* (I. 55, 56).

The accent consisting of one mora is called 'hrasva'. 'Hrasva' and 'mātrā' are synonyms.

11. The second and fourth letters of each varga are aspirates. The term 'ūṣman' literally 'heat, hot, vapor, steam' is in the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe: they are the sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term 'soṣman, aspirated mute', 'ūṣman' is to be understood not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air', 'expulsion of unintonated breath'.

By this rule it is stated that all short letters 'a', 'i', 'u', etc., are known as having one mora. But Kātyāyana has made an exception in some places by his rule IV. 107, in the following manner:

A vowel is considered as having two moras under the following circumstances:

1. When it is preceded by a group or samyoga.

E.g., *aggnih* (Sam. XXIII. 17).

2. Having a consonant at the end.

E.g., *daddhyaṇ* (Sam. XI. 33).

3. When it is at the end.

E.g., *pāhi* (Sam. I. 1).

rakṣa (Sam. I. 4).

(14) *Dīrgha* (I. 57).

The accent consisting of two moras is called 'dīrgha'.

Kātyāyana defines these terms hrasva and dīrgha by mātrās (moras), while Pāṇini defines giving a conventional value "ūkālo'jhrasvadīrghaplu-tah" (I. 2. 27).

(15) *Pluta* (protracted accent) (I. 58).

The accent consisting of three moras is called 'pluta'.

Pluti is the lengthening of a vowel to three moras marked in Vedic works by ३. This pluti is used in three cases, (1) to ask a question, (2) to deliberate or consider whether a thing should be done or not, and (3) to give some emphasis to a certain work. In the two first cases it expresses exactly the idea of our sign of interrogation, in the latter

that of our underlining or italicising of certain important words.

(16) *Aṇu* (I. 60).

'*Vyañjana*' consists half mora (I. 59). Its half measure is called 'aṇu': one-fourth of a mora.

(17) *Paramāṇu* (I. 61).

Half measure of 'aṇu' is called 'paramāṇu'.

The quantity of 'anusvāra'—By the rules I. 55, 59, 60, the quantity of letters is fixed in different ways: *mātrā*, *ardhamātrā*, and *aṇumātrā*. Kātyāyana has determined the quantity of anusvāra in the fourth chapter which is as follows:

1. The anusvāra preceded by a hrasva (short) letter is considered to be as possessing one-fourth of a mora, and the preceding short letter also becomes as having half a mora (IV. 148).

E.g., *māghaśamso'ddhruvāḥ* (Saṃ. I. 1).

mamhiṣṭho matsadandhasaḥ

(Saṃ. XXVII. 40).

Note: The rule "nānususvāraḥ" IV. 109, prevents the reduplication to the anusvāra, which is followed by a group or saṃyoga.

E.g., *imam stanam* (Saṃ. XVII. 87).

somānam svaranam (Saṃ. III. 28).

We do not find any special object to this annulment (*pratiṣedha*) because even if it is doubled there will be no change in its form. The same is the case with the visarjanīya, nāsikya, yama, jihvāmūliya, and upadhmānīya. Uvvaṭa commenting on IV. 148, remarks that by the rule IV. 109 Kātyāyana has

prescribed half a mora to the anusvāra which is followed by a group, and the present rule is with regard to the anusvāra which is not followed by a saṃyoga. In this statement the first portion, *i.e.*, half a mora is prescribed to the anusvāra followed by a group, is described neither by Kātyāyana nor by Uvvaṭa in the sūtra IV. 109, or in its comment, nor even in connected places, and it is a wonder how he has chosen to make such a statement.

2. The anusvāra which is preceded by a long vowel should be pronounced with half mora's time.

E.g., *māṃsam* (Saṃ. XX. 13)

tvām hi (Saṃ. XXXIII. 13).

(18) *Sthāna* (I. 62).

The location of letters is called 'sthāna', or the place of organ of utterance of any letter.

These are eight:

“*Aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānām*

urah kaṇṭhas śiras tathā |

Jihvāmūlam ca dantās ca

nāsikoṣṭham ca tālu ca ||’”

(Pāṇini-śikṣā).

A translation of this verse is found in 'Tolkāp-piyam', the Tamil Grammar, the date of which is supposed to be the first century A. C.

In regard to the place and mode of production of the different sounds of the spoken alphabet, two things are to be considered: the 'sthāna' or 'position', or the place where the sound is produced, and the 'karaṇa' or the particular vocal organ which

produces the sound. That is to say, two organs are always concerned in the production of a sound, and by their contact or approximation the sound receives its character: of these, the more immovable one is called the 'sthāna' or place of production, and it is from this that the sound derives its class-designation; and the more movable or active one is called the 'karaṇa' or instrument of production.

(19) *Jihvāmūlasthānīya* (I. 65).

Ṛ, ṛ, ṛḥ, jihvāmūlīya, ka, kha, ga, gha, ṇa, these are called 'jihvāmūlasthānīya'. The name 'jihvāmūlīya' means 'formed at the base of the tongue'. Gutturals are called 'jihvāmūlīyas'.

(20) *Tālusthānīya* (palatals) (I. 66).

I, ī, īḥ, ca, cha, ja, jha, ṇa, e, ya, śa, these are called 'tālavya'.

(21) *Mūrdhanya* (linguals) (I. 67).

Ṣa, ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, these are called 'mūrdhanya'. About the word 'mūrdhan' Prof. Whitney remarks as follows:

"Müller holds mūrdhan to be used directly in the sense of "dome of the palate", and Weber accepts the same meaning for 'śiras', but it seems to me exceedingly doubtful whether words which mean so distinctly 'head' as usually employed, can, without limiting addition be taken as signifying a certain region in the mouth. . . . Mūrdhan must be taken to mean "dome of the palate" indirectly, if at all, in so far as that is the highest point in the 'head' which the tongue is capable of reaching. Müller proposes "cacuminal" as a name for the

class; a far from unsuitable term, but one which has not found acceptance, perhaps as being rather cacophonous. The name employed by Bopp and many other later grammarians 'lingual' seems as free from objection as any other, 'Cerebral' does injustice to the Hindu grammarians and obtrudes offensively a false and absurd theory."¹²

(22) *Dantamūlīya* (I. 68).

Ra is called 'dantamūlīya'. The term dantamūla means 'the root of the teeth'. By this it must be understood, doubtless, the bases of the upper front teeth, at which according to the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* (I. 9. 10) and *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* (II. 38, 42), the whole dental class is produced.

(23) *Dantya* (dentals) (I. 69).

Ṭ, ṭ, ṭṣ, ṭa, ṣa, ṭa, tha, da, dha, na; these are called 'dantya'.

(24) *Oṣṭhya* (labials) (I. 70).

U, ū, ūṣ, va, o, upadhmānīya, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, these are called 'oṣṭhya'.

(25) *Kaṇṭhya* (throat sounds)¹³ (I. 71).

A, ā, āṣ, ha, visarjanīya, these are called 'kaṇṭhya'.

(26) *Nāsikāsthānīya* (nose sounds) (I. 74).

Kum, khum, gum, ghum, am, hum, these are called 'nāsikāsthānīya'.

12. Whitney's *Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya* I. 22.

13. Our *Prātiśākhya* declares that these throat sounds are formed in the throat. But I. 84 seems to be an exception where the vocal organ is said to be the middle of the jaws. This latter statement seems to be a strange one, and not quite accurate.

(27) *Anunāsika* (nasal mutes)¹⁴ (I. 75).

The letters 'na', ña, ña, ña, ma, pronounced through the nose are called 'anunāsika'.

(28) *Pragrhya* (I. 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98).

The term 'pragrhya' means, by implication, that the vowels to which it applies is not liable to the ordinary changes of 'sandhi', viz., fusion with, or conversion into a semivowel before, a following vowel.

(a) the letter 'e' or 'ī' which comes in dual number and at the end of a prātipadika (a noun in its uninflected state),

(b) the letter 'o' coming at the end of the word, with the exception of 'avagraha',

(c) the letter 'u' which comes as a penultimate letter,

(d) the word 'camū', 'asme' and 'tve',

(e) the word 'me' if it is an 'udātta',

and (f) the form 'amī' if it is a pada, are called 'pragrhya'.

(29) *Akṣara* (syllable) (I. 99, 100, 101).

(a) A vowel is a syllable.

(b) The vowel preceded by a consonant is also a syllable.

E.g., *mo* (Sam. III. 46).

(c) The vowel preceded and followed by consonants is also a syllable.

E.g., *Vāk* (Sam. V. 33).

14. The Prātiśākhya declares that the place and organ of production of labials and nose-sounds to be the same, only specifying further that the yamas are uttered with the root of the nose.

(30) *Udātta* (I. 108).

A syllable uttered in a high tone is called 'acute' or 'udātta'.

(31) *Anudātta* (I. 109).

One uttered in a low tone is called 'grave' or 'anudātta'. The words 'udātta' and 'anudātta' mean literally 'elevated' and 'not elevated'—that is to say, above the average pitch of the voice.

(32) *Svarita* (I. 110).

One carried from the high to the low tone is called 'circumflex'. 'Svarita' has received many explanations, none of which has been satisfactorily established. Perhaps it might have come from 'svara' (vowel) and means literally 'vocalised', exhibiting a conversion of semivowel into vowel.

(33) *Jātya* (I. 111).

(34) *Abhinihata* (I. 114).

(35) *Kṣaipra* (I. 115).

(36) *Prāśliṣṭa* (I. 116).

(37) *Tairovyañjana* (I. 117).

(38) *Tairovirāma* (I. 118).

(39) *Pādavṛtta* (I. 119).

(40) *Tāthābhāvya* (I. 120).

These are the varieties of circumflex or svarita accent.

The meaning of the term 'Jātya' is 'natural', original, primitive.

The term 'Pādavṛtta' is evidently a mutilated substitute for 'pādavivṛtta or pādavaivṛtta', 'arising in connection with a hiatus between two words'.

(41) *Lopa* (I. 141).

The omission, the loss, the elision, or the dropping of a letter is called 'lopa'.

(42) *Āmreḍita* (I. 146).

A repeated word is called 'āmreḍita'.

(43) *Sthitopasthita* (I. 147).

The repeated word, which is connected by the word 'iti' at its end and beginning is called 'sthitopasthita'.

E.g., *Dve iti dve* (Sam. XVII. 91).

Vahnitamam iti vahni-tamam (Sam. I. 8).

This is defined as follows:

“*Upasthitam setikāram kevalam tu padam sthitam |
Tat sthitopasthitam nāma yatrobhe āha saṃhite ||*

*Asyārthaḥ—Itikaraṇasahitam upasthitasam-
jñam padam bhavati. Kevalam itikaraṇasahitam
sthitasamjñam bhavati. Yatra padāntapadādī iti-
karaṇena sahitaḥ tat sthitopasthitapadam ucyate.”*

(44) *Aprkta* (I. 151).

The word having one letter is called 'aprkta'. The term aprkta means 'uncombined with any other letter'.

This word receives all the operations of euphony prescribed to the end and to the beginning of a pada.

(45) *Samhitā* (I. 155).

If the end of a word is conjuncted with the beginning of the following 'pada', by svvara or letters, it is called (dvipada) samhitā.

E.g., *Iṣe tvā, tvorje*¹⁵ (Sam. I. 1).

15. This is *krama-samhitā*.

(46) *Asāṃhita* (I. 156).

When the word is detached from its connection from others it is called 'asāṃhita'.

E.g., *Iṣe, tvā, ūrje, tvā* (Sam. I. 1).

(47) *Ripḥita* (I. 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168).

(a) The visarjanīya having 'a', 'ā', as its penultimate letters,

E.g., *Asinā mithū kaḥ* (Sam. XXV. 43).

(b) the word 'kar', if it is in grave accent,

E.g., *Mahī pāthaḥ pūrvyam sadhryakkah*
(Sam. XXXIII. 59).

(c) the word 'antar' if it is not having accute accent at its beginning,

E.g., *Antas te dyāvāprthivī* (Sam. VII. 5).

(d) the word 'ahar' if it is not followed by the letter 'bha',

E.g., *Pra vayan hāhārjinvā* (Sam. XV. 6).

(e) the words 'āvaḥ' and 'vaḥ' if they are to be seen in the same 'Rk',

E.g., *Viśīmatas suruco ve na āvaḥ*
sataś ca yonim asataś ca vivaḥ

(Sam. XIII. 3).

(f) the words 'stotaḥ', 'vastaḥ', 'sanutaḥ', 'abhāḥ', 'vāḥ', and 'dvāḥ',

(g) the word 'svar' if it is not followed by the word 'araṇa',

(h) the same word, when it comes at the beginning of a word and not followed by a 'jit',

and (i) the visarjanīya of the following words—
'hvāḥ', 'savitaḥ', 'punaḥ', 'tvaṣṭrḥ', 'neṣṭrḥ', 'akāḥ',

‘hotah’, ‘mātah’, ‘prātah’, ‘jāmātah’, ‘ajīgaḥ’, ‘pranetaḥ’, are styled ‘riphita’.

Paribhāṣas or the interpretative key-rules—

(1) Of letters, the word ‘iti’ and the suffix ‘kāra’ form the name (I. 36, 37).

E.g., 1. *Kitikhitigitighitimiti kavargaḥ* (VIII. 4).

2. *Yakārūkārayor āspatye pade* (IV. 40).

The original form of the consonents are k, kh, g, gh, etc. When these are indicated by kāra, the same is interpolated by ‘a’ (I. 38).

(2) Of ‘r’, epha and ‘iti’ form the name (I. 39).

E.g., 1. *Rephām svaradhau* (IV. 36).

2. *Yitiritivitiliti* (VIII. 6).

(3) Of consonants, vowels also form the name (I. 40).

E.g., 1. *Nuḥ* (III. 134).

2. *Cachayaoś śam* (III. 7).

3. *Tathayos sam* (III. 8).

(4) The anusvāra, yama, visarjanīya, jīhvāmūlīya, and upadhmānīya, are termed as such (I. 41).

E.g., 1. *Anusvāram roṣmasu makāraḥ* (IV. 1).

2. *Ūṣmabhyaḥ pañcameṣu yamāpattir doṣaḥ* (IV. 162).

3. *Vīsarjanīyaḥ* (III. 6).

4. *Jīhvāmūlīyopadhmānīyau Śākāṭāyanah* (III. 12).

(5) When a short letter is taken, it includes long and pluta (I. 63).

(6) The first letter of a series (varga) is the name of that series (I. 64).

(7) The accusative case (am) indicates alteration (I. 133).

E.g., 1. *Anusvāram roṣmasu makārah* (IV. 1).

Here 'ma' changes into 'anusvāra'.

2. *Bhāvibhyaḥ saṣ ṣam samānapāde* (III. 56).

Here 'sa' changes into 'ṣa'.

This alteration takes place in the beginnings and endings of words, and to the words of one letter (I. 140).

E.g., 1. *Ā idam > edam* (Sam. IV. 1).

2. *Iha ūrjam > ihorjam* (Sam. XIX. 63).

Word of one letter—

1. *Mo su naḥ > moṣūna* (Sam. III. 46).

2. *Su sāva > suṣāva* (Sam. XIX. 2).

(8) The saptamī vibhakti indicates that which is previous to the subject to which something takes place (I. 134).

E.g., 1. *Kakārapakārayos sakāram* (III. 21).

2. *Tathayos sam* (III. 8).

(9) The ṣaṣṭhī vibhakti indicates the sense of the word 'sthāne': something takes place to the word which is in ṣaṣṭhī vibhakti (I. 136).

E.g., *Yavayoh padāntayos svaramadhye lopah* (IV. 125).

(10) The *pañcamīvibhakti* indicates that which follows that to which something takes place (I. 135).

E.g., 1. *Okārāt su* (III. 61).

2. *Pares ca siñcateḥ* (III. 64).

(11) The *ṛtīyāvibhakti* indicates an augment (I. 137, 138).

E.g., *Ņnau ktābhyām sakāre* (IV. 15).

The augment occupies a place in the middle of the word.

E.g., 1. *Prāñ somah > prāñksomah* (Saṃ. XIX. 3).

2. *Trīn samudrān > trīñsamudrān*
(Saṃ. XIII. 31).

In sūtra I. 138, Kātyāyana uses the word ‘*parvan*’ instead of *pada*. It is a rare use.

(12) The augment prescribed in the middle of the word is considered to be a following one (I. 139).

E.g., 1. *Dve iti, śīrṣe iti* (Saṃ. XVII. 91).

Here, according to the rule ‘*Pragrhyam carcāyām itīnā padeṣu*’, the ‘*iti*’ follows ‘*dve*’ and ‘*śīrṣe*’ respectively.

(13) If nothing is specially mentioned the letter liable to change will undergo the immediate (I. 142).

E.g., *Anaso vāhau sakāro ḍakāram* (III. 45).

Here the word ‘*anasvān*’ is mentioned. So the ‘*s*’ changes into ‘*ḍ*’.

(14) When a group of predicates refer to a group of subjects, the reference must be taken to be in the respective order: first to first, second to second: etc. (I. 143).

E.g., *Sado dyaur namas̄ kṛtam pitā patheṣu.*
(III. 34).

Here 'sadas' joins with 'kṛta', 'dyauḥ' with 'pitā' and 'namas' with 'patha' respectively.

E.g., 1. *Sadaḥ kṛtam > sadaskṛtam*
(Saṃ. XIII. 8).

2. *Dyauḥ pitā > dyauspitā*
(Saṃ. II. 11).

3. *Namaḥ pathe > namaspathe*
(Saṃ. XVIII. 54).

(15) When there are two illustrations, one being adjacent, and the other distant, the former undergoes the operation, (I. 144).

E.g., *Asi, śivā, suṣadā*, etc., are considered to be accented acutely when they are padas. 'Asi' is seen in many places in the Vedic text.

1. *Sukṣmā cāsi śivā cāsi* (Saṃ. I. 27).

2. *Syonā cāsi suṣadā* (Saṃ. I. 27).

In these two sentences, the 'asi' of the first is an example of the above rule, as it is adjacent.

(16) When an operation takes place simultaneously to the preceding and the following, the latter becomes effective (I. 145). There is hardly any illustration of this rule to be found in the Vedic text. So Uvvaṭa opines that this rule relates to accentuation. He has given only one example from the Vedic text and says:

“*Ā ca śāssvā ca* (Saṃ. XXI. 61).

Atra svaritākāra udāttaḥ. Tatra yugapat

*kāryam ubhayoh sandhāv udātta eva. Svaraviṣaya-
kam caitat sūtram.*”

(17) When two rules are equally admissable, and lead to different result (lopa excluded), the later rule alone will operate. However, if one of the rules leads to lopa, it alone will operate. (I. 159).

E.g., When udātta is combined with anudātta the product is udātta:.

Sukṣmā ca asi > sukṣmā cāsi (Saṃ. I. 27).

Among these paribhāṣas, only some are described by Uvvaṭa as paribhāṣas. (Vide Uvvaṭa, I. 63, 64, 142, 143). Perhaps Uvvaṭa might have considered only those, which are not familiar in Vyākaraṇa and other connected works, as paribhāṣas explaining the mode of application of rules, they are summarised here. Most of these saṃjñas and paribhāṣas will be very familiar even to the student of elementary Sanskrit Grammar.

Possible finals—Of the letters enumerated here, only some are found to occur at the end of words. To explain which of these letters can end a word, Kātyāyana has devoted four sūtras (I. 85 to 88).

All the first and last letters of the mute-series (varga) except ‘ca’ and ‘ña’, the visarjanīya, all the vowel-sounds both simple and dipthongal, except ‘l’ and ‘ṛ’, and ‘ṇ’ and ‘r’ in the avagraha places, may be sounded at the end of the words.

E.g., (1) The first letter of the mute-series:

Prāk, apāk; virāt, samrāt; yat, tat; triṣṭup, anuṣṭup.

(2) The last letter of the mute-series:

Prāṇ, pratyaṇ; trīn samudrān; tam yañnam.

(3) Vowels:

Dvīpyāya, nīpyāya; āśvinā, mitrāvaruṇā; sruci; indrāgnī; madhu, aṇu; vṛṣaṇvasū, camū; dvē, virūpe; pṛthivyai, bhūmyai; indo; āśvinau.

(4) 'Ṇ' and 'ṛ' in avagraha:

Pūṣaṇ-vān; vṛṣaṇ-vasū; pitṛ-sadanāḥ; pitṛ-sadanam.

Syllabication of consonants—The consonants are considered to be the adjuncts of vowels. For “a consonant is incapable of standing alone, and so is dependent, while a vowel is independent; and that, as between a dependent and an independent, the enlightened regard the independent as superior; and it belongs to the inferior to be adjunct to the superior. Moreover there is found also another proof of the superiority of the vowel in the verse,¹⁶ ‘as a mighty monarch takes possession of the realm of a weak one, so the mighty vowel takes possession of the weak consonant’ ‘Patañjali¹⁷ styled that a vowel which shines by itself (svara from svayam rājate): the consonant is so called as being

16. “*Durbalasya yathā rāṣṭram harate balavān nṛpaḥ |*
Durbalam vyañjanam tadvad harate balavān svaraḥ”||
 (Tribhāṣya-ratna, XXI. 1.)

17. “*Yas svayam rājate tam tu svaram āha patañjaliḥ |*
Upaṛi sthāyinā tena vyaṅgyam vyañjanam uccyate”||

imperfect without the other following it'.
 'Acute,¹⁸ grave, and circumflex, the three accents, and short, long, protracted, these in regard to quantity, are the necessary characteristics of the vowels'; which shows that acute tone and so on are attributes of vowels only, and of consonants in virtue of their being adjuncts of vowels.
 Finally the superiority of the vowel is once more inferred from the fact that, when it is combined with a consonant, it alone is perceptible; just as, when milk and water are mingled, the milk alone is perceived, and not the water."¹⁹ Generally, the letters are to be seen in words in three different modes: (1) separate vowels, (2) vowels combined with single consonants, and (3) vowels combined with two or more combined consonants. Regarding the last two, there arises a doubt about the dependence of particular consonants on particular vowels (the preceding or the following). The teachings of the different Prātiśākhya-works are very nearly of one accord upon this subject. In the *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, the rule I. 55, and the three succeeding rules concern the division of words into syllables, and the assignment of the consonants they contain to the proper vowels. In the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* this subject is discussed in the first nine aphorisms of the

18. "Udāttaś cānūdāttaś ca svaritaś ca svarās trayah |
 Hrasvo dīrghah pluta iti kālato niyamā aci" ||

Ibid. Vide also Weber's *Indische Studies*, Vol. IV,
 p. 353, Verse 23.

19. Whitney. *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*. XXI. 1.

chapter XXI. The *Rk-prātiśākhya* also deals with the subject, but in two separate places: chapters I and XVIII. The settlement of the dependence of a particular consonant on a particular vowel is important²⁰ for accentuation. So Kātyāyana, the author of the *Śuklayajurveda-prātiśākhya* treats of this subject in six²¹ sūtras I. 102 to 107, a summary

20. "It is a matter of pretty pure theory; the only practical bearing it can have must be in determining whether such and such a consonant shall receive one or another accent, as being that of the preceding or that of the following; and this itself must be almost unmixed theory."

Whitney, *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, I. 55.

21. According to some scholars this subject occupies eight aphorisms: I. 100 to 107. Here as the first two aphorisms deal with the description of the term 'akṣara', and as Uvvaṭa has stated in I. 101, the commencement of the description of 'aṅgatva' only from I. 102, both these rules are not mentioned. Rule I. 100 is as follows:

The vowel with the preceding consonant is termed 'akṣara'.

E.g., 'Mo'. (Saṃ. III. 46).

Here the vowel 'o' with the preceding consonant 'm', is termed 'akṣara'.

'*Dru annaḥ* > *drvannaḥ* (Saṃ. XI. 70).

Here the vowel 'u' with the preceding consonants 'd' and 'r', is termed 'akṣara'. The sense of this rule makes one understand that the consonant belongs to the following vowel. Prof. Whitney assumes that this is the leading and introductory principle in all the Prātiśākhya-works and the equivalent rules of the other treatises are *Ath. Pr.* I. 55, *Taitt. Pr.* XXI. 2, *Rk. Pr.* (Muller) I, v. 15, R. 23, XIV, and XXVIII, v. 17, R. 1033, 1034.

Rule I. 101 is as follows:

The vowel which is preceded by a consonant and followed by another consonant which ends the word, is termed 'akṣara'.

E.g., 'Vāk' (Saṃ. V. 33).

Here the vowel 'a' with preceding and ending consonants 'v' and 'k' respectively, is termed 'akṣara'. By this rule this has been said. Where there is only one vowel and it is preceded by a consonant and followed by another at the end, both of these consonants become

of which is given below. Here an attempt is also made to show the parallel rules of other treatises on the subject. This subject is termed *Pūrvāṅga-parāṅga-cintā*.

(1) The first consonant of a group (*saṃyogādi*) consisting of either two or more than two consonants, belongs to the preceding vowel (I. 102).

E.g., *Aśśvaḥ* (Sam. XV. 62).

Here is a combination of two 'ś' and one 'v'. So the first 'ś' becomes part of the previous 'a', and the latter 'ś' and 'v' become part of the following 'a'. The production of the sound of the word is thus indicated by 'aś|śvaḥ.'

If we had only to consider the combinations of consonants as they are in the ordinary *Samhitā* text, and detach them into divisions, the application of this rule and the succeeding rules for syllabication would be simple enough, but, on the other hand, we are required to apply also the rules of duplication etc., and also to make the insertions required by the applicable rules.

Here the word 'saṃyogādi' needs some interpretation. According to this treatise, the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, XXXI. 4, and *Atharva-prātiśākhya* I. 56, the name 'saṃyogādi' belongs to the first consonant of the group as it stands after duplication and insertion.

the adjuncts of that vowel. In this rule the sense of the former portion is already expressed by Rule I. 100, and of the latter portion by Rule I. 106.

E.g., 'Agnim' (Sam. I. 17).

'Aśśvah' (Sam. XV. 62).

'Attra' (Sam. II. 31).

Here the first 'g', 'ś', and 't' are called 'saṃyogādi', and they are united with the former syllable thus — 'Ag|gnim', 'Aś|śvah', 'At|tra'. The *Rk. prātiśākhya* I. v. 15. R. 26, XVIII. v. 18, R. 1037 applies the name 'saṃyogādi' to the second letter, as being the first consonant of the original group (saṃyoga), while the one preceding it is specifically the product of the duplication and called 'kramaja'.

The other treatises hold the same principle, and teach it by an equivalent method, but the *Rk. prātiśākhya* allows the 'saṃyogādi' letter to be counted either with the preceding or with the following syllable: thus—'ag|gnim' or 'agg|nim', 'aś|śvah' or 'aśś|vah', 'at|tra' or 'att|ra'.

(2) The Yama, with the preceding letter, become part of the previous vowel. (I. 103).

E.g., *Rukkmam* (Sam. XV. 25).

Here is a combination of two k's, 'yama', and 'm'. The letters 'k' and 'yama', are the part of the first vowel, and 'm' of the second.

The *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* (XXI. 8) reckons the nāsikya (nasal) letters to the following vowel. The author of the *Tribhāṣya-ratna* has defined nāsikya as yama, and gives examples of yamas only. The sūtra XXI. 13 states that some call these

nāsikyas yamas. Neither of the other treatises says anything about this principle.

In IV. 161 Kātyāyana calls the yamas by another term—viccheda—which means ‘separation’, and restricts their occurrence thus: ‘within a word, a non-nasal before a nasal suffers separation’. The term viccheda is not employed elsewhere except in this treatise and that too only here. The corresponding descriptions of the occurrence of yama-letter in other treatises are the *Rk-prātiśākhya* VI. v. 8—10, *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* XXI. 12—14, *Atharva-prātiśākhya* I. 99—100. The *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* and the *Atharva-prātiśākhya* teach the insertion of a nāsikya after ‘h’ and before a following nasal also.

Literally the word ‘yama’ means ‘twin’. “They are transition-sounds, assumed to intervene between non-nasal and following nasal, as a kind of nasal counterpart to the non-nasal, and therefore called its yama or ‘twin’.”²² There is difference of opinion as to how many different yamas there are. But it can be inferred from the treatment of all Prātiśākhya-texts, that the yamas are to be understood as of twenty varieties, because the non-nasal mutes are known to be twenty in number. But the commentators of Prātiśākhya-works have fixed the yamas only at four; one for all the first mutes ‘k’, ‘c’, ‘ṭ’, ‘t’, and ‘p’, one for all the seconds ‘kh’, ‘ch’, ‘ṭh’, ‘th’, and ‘ph’, and so on. This statement of the com-

22. Whitney, *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, XXI. 12.

mentators seems to be indefensible, for if we accept that there are only four yamas, there will be no difference between the letters 'k' and 't' in 'kma' and 'tna', because being the first letters of one series (the mute-series), they should be identified with the same yama-letters. "This latter view, however, appears to me peculiarly indefensible: I do not at all see how the nasal counterparts of the tenues of the five mute-series should be identical with one another; nor, on the other hand, how they should be physically different from the yamas of the following mutes of each series respectively; although it might well enough be loosely said, considering this title of 'twins', that there are as many of them as of the sounds to which they sustain that relation. Physically it would seem necessary that a nasal transition-sound between two mutes should be of the nature either of the first or of the second; if of the second, and that a second nasal, it would be indistinguishable from it; if of the first, it would be identical with the nasal of that series and so the same for all the mutes of the series.'" ²³ So theoretically we have to accept the existence of twenty yamas. Prof. Max Müller has supposed the yama letters to be something prefixed to the non-nasal mute, instead of interposed between it and the following nasal. ²⁴ Prof. Whitney has discussed yamas fully in his *Atharva-prātiśākhya* (I. 99), and

23. Whitney, *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, I. 99.

24. Muller, *Rg-veda-prātiśākhya*. German edition, p. cxiii.

beyond it there is no new light to throw upon the subject here.

(3) The 'kramaja' letter is also considered to be the part of the previous vowel. Kramaja (*kramāj jāta*) means a duplicated-letter which follows the first letter of a combination (I. 104).²⁵

E.g., *Pārśśvyam* (Sam. XXV. 5).

Here the letter 'r', two 'ś', 'v', and 'y' are combined. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination, the first 'ś' is kramaja; so these two form the part of preceding vowel, the second 'ś', 'v' and 'y' are of the latter. The sound-product of this word is thus indicated by: *Pārśś|vyam*.

Another example:

Varṣṣyāya (Sam. XVI. 38).

Here, the letters 'r', two 'ś', and 'y' are combined. Repha is the first of the combination, the first 'ś' is kramaja; these two are parts of the previous vowel, and the remaining 'ś', and 'y' are of the latter.

25. This is Uvvaṭa's explanation. Generally kramaja means a doubled letter, specifically the product of the duplication which precedes the original letter of the combination which is doubled.

E.g., *Agnim* (Sam. I. 17).

Here is an original combination of 'g', 'n', and 'i'. The 'g' is 'saṃyogādi'. When this letter is doubled, another 'g' which is the product of duplication, and which is called kramaja, occupies the place before the original 'g'; thus the word is formed as—*Agnim*. Here the first 'g' is 'kramaja' and the second 'g' is 'saṃyogādi'.

According to the present treatise, this rule, as considered with that of the other treatises, is more general in its form. The rules of the other treatises *Rk-prāṭisākhya* I. v. 15, XVIII. v. 18; *Taittirīya-prāṭisākhya*, XXI. 5; *Atharva-prāṭisākhya*, I. 58, are more or less related to this. The *Taittirīya-prāṭisākhya* states that a consonant not joined with the following vowel belongs to the preceding vowel. Here the author of the *Tribhāṣya-ratna* produces a *prima facie* argument thus: "Well, but then the foregoing rule (XXI. 4) is meaningless, since by this one also the quality of adjunction to the preceding vowel is assured to the consonant that begins a group. And he replies—You must not think that: for, in such cases as 'maryaśrīh' and 'arvā'si', in which the 'y' and 'v' are doubled after 'r' by rule XIV. 4, the former 'y' or 'v' is by the present rule made an adjunct of the preceding vowel, but the 'r', by the rule 7 below (XXI. 7), would become an adjunct of the following vowel: and that is impossible, since no such pronunciation ever takes place. So, as one or the other must needs be annulled, the question arises which is to be annulled; and here rule 4 (XXI. 4) comes into settle the question."²⁶ The *Atharva-prāṭisākhya* teaches that the consonant generated by krama or duplication after 'r' and 'h' belongs to the preceding vowel, and this corresponds in meaning with the rule of the *Kātyāyana-prāṭisākhya*. The *Rk-prāṭisākhya* also states (like the

26. See Appendix. The Commentary on *Taittirīya-prāṭisākhya* on XXI. 5, Whitney's edition.

Atharva-prātisākhya) that the initial consonant of a group which is the result of duplication belongs to the preceding vowel.

(4) The next letter of the *kramaja* is also considered to be part of the preceding vowel, if it is followed by a mute. (I. 105.)

E.g., *Pārṣṇnyā* (Sam. XXV. 40).

Here *repha*, 'ṣ', two letters 'ṇ', and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the first letter of a combination, 'ṣ' is '*kramaja*', the next letter to the '*kramaja*' is 'ṇ', and it is followed by a mute — another 'ṇ', so these three become part of preceding vowel, and the remaining 'ṇ' and 'y' parts of the last vowel.

This statement of *Uvvaṭa* (*vide* sūtra I. 105) does not seem to be correct; because he states 'ṣ' is '*kramaja*'. In the previous sūtra he has described '*kramaja*' as a term of the letter which undergoes duplication. Here 'ṣ' is not doubled. So leaving the letter 'ṣ', the first 'ṇ' is to be considered as '*kramaja*', and its following letter the second 'ṇ', according to present rule, fails to become part of previous vowel, because it is not followed by a mute, but is followed by 'y'. Therefore, *pārṣṇnyā* is not a suitable illustration for this rule. If the syllabication alone of the above illustration is changed as *pārṣṇnyā* there is no difficulty. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination, the first 'ṣ' is '*kramaja*', the second 'ṣ' which is followed by 'ṇ', they become part of the preceding vowel, while the 'ṇ' and 'y' are part of the latter vowel. The author

of the *Prātisākhya-pradīpa-sikṣā* also supports this. He says as follows:

“*Kramajād uttaram vyañjanam sparśe pare pūrvāṅgam bhavati. ‘Pārṣṣṇyā vā’. Repho dvau śakārau pūrvasya, ṇakāra-yakārau parasya.*”²⁷

Therefore it is suggested that the commentary of Uvvaṭa on I. 105 might be read with a slight modification—

“*Yathā — Pārṣṣṇyā. Rephaḥ dvau śakārau ṇakāro yakāraś ca saṃyogaḥ. Tatra repas saṃyogādir iti kṛtvā, pūrvasakārah kramaja iti kṛtvā, ‘Tasmāc cottaram sparśe’ iti kṛtvā aparas śakāraś ca, etc pūrvāṅgam, ṇakāro yakāraś ca uttarasvarasyāṅgam.*”

Neither of the other treatises mentions this rule.

(5) The consonants in *pausā* are also said to be part of the preceding vowel. (I. 106.)

E.g., *Vāk* (Saṃ. V. 33).

Here ‘k’ is the ending letter.

Ūrk (Saṃ. IV. 10).

Here repha and ‘k’ are combined, the repha being the first letter of a combination, and ‘k’ being the ending letter, both of them form part of the preceding vowel.

This principle, of course, is very plain and without any exception in its application and the rules corresponding to this in other treatises are

27. *Sikṣāsaṅgraha*, p. 225, Benares.

Rk-prātiśākhya, XVIII. v. 17. R. 1035, *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, XXI. 3, and *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, I. 57.

In sūtra I. 107, Kātyāyana describes the object of these rules. It is evident that the accents ‘ucca’ (acute), ‘nīca’ (grave), and ‘svarita’ (circumflex) are the qualities of vowels. There is no special rule anywhere narrating the accentuation of consonants. On the other hand, the consonants also undergo the changes of accentuation when they are pronounced. So there must be some decided understanding in the accentuation of consonants. For this purpose the author of the *Prātiśākhya* (Kātyāyana) has defined these rules. The idea is that the consonant, which depends on a particular vowel, should be pronounced with the same accent as the vowel:

“*Svara uccas svarō nīcas*

svaras svarita eva ca |

Svarapradhānam traisvary-

vyāñjanam tena sasvara^{er}je” ||

In the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, we have some additional rules also. They are:

(1) Anusvāra, and Svarabhakti (vowel-fragment) also belong to the previous vowel. (XXI. 6.)

E.g.,

Anusvāra:

Aṁśunā te (Sam. I. 2. 6).

Svarabhakti:

Gārhapatyah (Sam. I. 6, 7, 8).

Svarabhakti is defined in sūtra XXI. 15 as follows:

“In combination of a ‘r’ and spirant, there is a svarabhakti of ‘r’, but not in the case of ‘krama’,²⁸ when a first mute follows the spirant.”

The *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* makes similar statements in I. v. 15, R. 15 and adds in one of the above rules that the visarjanīya also becomes part of the previous vowel.

(2) But not a consonant that is followed by a semi-vowel, if dissimilar to it. (XXI. 7.)

(3) A mute that is followed by a spirant, if the following spirant is likewise in the same case. (XXI. 9.)

The meaning of this rule is very clear: “that a spirant which itself belongs to the following syllable, as being either directly combined with the vowel of the latter or followed only by a semi-vowel before that vowel, carries with it a preceding mute; but if, on the other hand, it be cut off from the succeeding vowel by a mute before it goes, of course, to the same syllable.”²⁹

E.g., *Saṭṭ saṃ padyante.*

Vaṣaṭṭ svāhā.

28. The author of the *Tribhāṣya-ratna* defines ‘krama’ as the equivalent of ‘dviṭva’ or duplication.

29. Whitney, *Tattirīya-prātiśākhya*, XXI. 9.

In both of these examples a 'ṭ' is inserted between the 'ṭ' and 'ṣ', and the final reading and division is 'ṭṭ|ths' and 'ṭṭ|thsv' respectively.

This finishes the subject of the division of consonant-groups in syllabication, in the *Taittirīya-prāṭisākhya*.

In addition to the above facts the *Ṛk-prāṭisākhya* enunciates two more principles:

(1) The consonant which happens to be in the middle of two vowels will become part of the following vowel. (I. v. 15, R. 24.)

E.g., *Ayam*.

(2) When the following consonant is duplicated, both of them, the product of the duplication and the original (*saṃyogādi*), will become part of either the preceding or the following vowel. (I, v. 15, R. 27.)

E.g., *Ārttnī*.

According to the *Ṛk-prāṭisākhya*, the syllabication of this can be in three methods—*ārt|tnī*, *ār|ttnī*, and *ārtt|nī*.

Describing several positions and different methods of pronunciation of letters, the author of the *Prāṭisākhya* enters into the svaras for the treatment of *Samjñas* and varieties, related to them. He specially mentions the indicating method of svara by different postures of the hand. The *Udātta-svara* (the accute accent) can be indicated by throwing the hand upwards, and the

Anudātta (grave accent) by throwing the hand downwards. There is a difference of opinion in the indication of Svarita-svara (circumflex or the mixed tone lying between high and low). The Svarita is described into eight kinds beginning from Jātya and ending with Tāthābhāvya. Among these, the Jātya, the Abhinibhata, the Kṣaipra, and the Praśliṣṭa, are to be indicated by the hand stretching it into oblique direction (just like using the hand in Pitṛdāna). But Kāṇva differs from this opinion and says, that only when the Svarita is preceded by Anudātta, the above method of indication of Svarita is acceptable. Examples are given below for the above points:

(1) Preceded by Udātta—

(i) *Katidhā vyākalyāṇ*

(Sam. XXXI. 10).

(ii) *Pañcadaśa stómaḥ* (Sam. X. 11).

(2) Preceded by Anudātta—(according to Kāṇva).

(i) *Vaiṣṇavyau* (Sam. I. 12).

(ii) *Dhānnyā^{am} asi* (Sam. I. 20).

These eight varieties of svarita are explained by Yājñavalkya in his Śikṣā elaborately.

“*Ekapade nīcapūrvāḥ sayavo jātyaḥ.*”

(I. 111.)

This particular sūtra treats of the characteristics of Jātya (one of the species of Svarita) and

the same description is found without any change, in the *Nārādīya-śikṣā* also, which runs as follows:

“*Ekapade nīcapūrvah
sayavo jātya iṣyate |
Apūrvo’pi paras tadvad
dhānnyam kanyā svar ity api.*”||³⁰

In the identification of Tāthābhāvyā, Kāṇvas and Mādhyandinas differ³¹ in their opinions. The methods of indicating svaras by different postures of the hand are also treated by Yājñavalkya in his *Śikṣā*.

There are seven svaras in the *Sāmaveda*, ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, etc., three in the *Yajurveda*, Udātta, Anudātta, and Svarita and with the exception of Svarita two in the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. The author of the *Prātiśākhya*, who has devoted his work simply to describe the rules related to svara and saṃskāra of the *White-Yajur-veda* makes incidental reference to the subject-matter of the other textual works such as the *Sāma-veda*, *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, etc., the topics of which have no connection with the present treatise. But the Addhvaryu (the officiating priest) needs³² the Sāma-gāna (chanting of the *Sāma-veda*) during some ceremonial occasions, and therefore

30. See foot-note, page 37, *Suklayajurveda-prātiśākhya*, Benares edition, 1888.

31. See Uvvaṭa on I. 120, *Suklayajurveda-prātiśākhya*.

32. “*Nānyo’dhvaryor gāyed iṣṭakā vā etā vīhitacito hasyād yad anyo’dhvaryor gāyed iti.*” *Brāhmaṇa* 2. In *Satapatha*. 2. *Saṅcītikānda*.

we can assume that such matters connected with other textual works are also necessary for the students of the Yajur-veda, and hence they are described by the author of this Prātiśākhya.

After describing some Saṃjñas and Paribhāṣas the first chapter comes to a close.

SECTION III.

RULES REGARDING SVARA OR ACCENTUATION.

The second adhyāya contains the rules regarding svara or accentuation. In the first adhyāya the author of the Prātiśākhya begins to define the sthāna and karaṇa of letters from the sūtra *Atha śikṣāvihitāḥ* (I. 29). Then he observes that according to the order of the purifactory ablution the origin of śabda or sound will be in the uras, in the kaṇṭha, and in the bhrūmadhya respectively. Then he states that when the sound is pronounced in each of these places, three separate changes of the body are occurring. This fact is defined in the sūtra *Āyāma-mārdavā-bhīghātāḥ* (I. 31). The svaras which are visible by these changes of the body are styled 'udātta' (the accute accent), 'anudātta' (the grave accent), and 'svarita' (the circumflex accent). The third accent the svarita alone has eight varieties. They are: (1) jātya, (2) abhinihata, (3) kṣaipra, (4) praśliṣṭa; (5) tairovyañjana, (6) tairovirāma, (7) pādavṛtta, and (8) tāthābhāvya. They are defined below with illustrations:

(1) Any vowel joined with the letter 'ya' or 'va', which comes in a word having grave accent at its beginning, will be jātya-svarita (I. 111).

E.g., *Dhānnya⁴m asi* (Sam. I. 20).

Note: The jātya-svarita is to be seen even in the words which are not having grave accent at their beginning:

E.g., *Svár deveṣú* (Saṃ. XVIII. 64).

(2) Abhinihata-svarita is determined in such places of the words which contain 'e' or 'o' as udātta, where anudātta 'a' is dropped (I. 114).

E.g., *Te apsarasām > te¹psarasām*
(Saṃ. XXIV. 37).

(3) Kṣaipra-svarita is determined in such places of words, where the letters 'i' and 'u' are combined with 'ya' and 'va' (I. 115).

E.g., *Tri āmbakam > tryāmbākam*
(Saṃ. III. 60).

Nu indra > nvi¹ndra (Saṃ. III. 51).

(4) Praśliṣṭa-svarita is determined in such places of the words where the short udātta 'i' is combined with a following short anudātta 'i' (I. 116):

E.g., *Abhi indhatām > abhī¹ndhatām*
(Saṃ. XI. 61).

(5) If any vowel preceded by an udātta accent, is combined with a consonant it is Tairov-yañjana-svarita (I. 117).

E.g., *Iḍe rante havye kāmye* (Saṃ. VIII. 43).

(6) The Tairovirāma-svarita will come in such places of the words, where the accute accent comes as 'avagraha'. (I. 118.)

E.g., *Gopátāv iti go-pátāu* (Sam. I. 1).

Note: As this rule is applicable only in 'áva-graha'-places, it should be well understood that the enforcement of this rule is only with compound words. This is only the difference between the previous rule and this.

(7) The Pādavṛtta-svarita will come in a place, which is intervened by a hiatus (I. 119).

(8) The anudātta avagraha, which is preceded and followed by an udātta accent will become as Tāthābhāvya-svarita (I. 120).

E.g., *Tanūnaptra iti tanū-naptré* (Sam. V. 5).

Note: Mādhyandinas do not accept svarita in this place. At the pada time, in this place, they say, a tremor called Tāthābhāvya will be seen.

“*Avagraho yadā nīca*
uccayor madhyataḥ kvacit |
Tāthābhāvyo bhavet kampas
tanūnaptre nidaḥśanam||”

So they have not accepted the Tāthābhāvya as a variety of Svarita.

The difference of opinion of Mādhyandinas regarding the Tāthābhāvya circumflex, is mentioned only in Uvvaṭa's commentary. The verse '*Avagraho yadā nīca*', etc., is also a quotation of the same author. This verse is found in the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* and in some other minor works. But the reading in the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* is:

“*Udāttākṣarayor madhye*
bhaven nīcas tv avagrahaḥ |

*Tāthābhāvyo bhavet svāras
tanūnaptre nīdarśanam.*”||

This differs slightly from Uvvaṭa’s quotation.

The svaritas (circumflex) may come in the beginning, in the middle, in the end, and in the whole word itself. They are respectively called :

- (1) ādi-svarita,
 - (2) madhya-svarita,
 - (3) anta-svarita,
- and (4) sarva-svarita.

Examples are given below :

- (1) Ādi-svarita :

Vyūptakeśāyeti vyū⁴pta-kesāya¹

(Sam. XVI. 29).

- (2) Madhya-svarita :

Svarggyā⁴ya (Sam. XI. 2).

Manuṣyā⁴ṇām (Sam. VI. 6).

- (3) Anta-svarita :

Vaiṣṇavyau⁴ (Sam. I. 12).

Dhānnya⁴m (Sam. I. 20).

- (4) Sarva-svarita :

Svāḥ (Sam. III. 5).

Thus the Udātta (acute accent) also will come in the same manner and its varieties are styled

- (1) ādyudātta,
 - (2) madhyodātta,
 - (3) antodātta,
- and (4) sarvodātta.

1. This is from Pada-pāṭha.

Examples:

(1) Ādyudātta:

Aśśvāḥ (Saṃ. XXIV. 1).*Svāhā* (Saṃ. IV. 6).

(2) Madhyodātta:

Tritāyá, dvitāyá (Saṃ. I. 23).

(3) Antodātta:

Iṣe, ūrje, rayyai (Saṃ. XIV. 22).

(4) Sarvodātta:

Pra tat (Saṃ. V. 20).

The general term for these eight varieties is 'Pada-bhakti' and it is common to all vedic texts.

The order which is adopted by the author of the Prātisākhya for the treatment of svaras, will fall under the following heads:

- I. Anudāttādhikāra.
- II. Ādyudāttādhikāra.
- III. Dvir-udāttādhikāra.
- IV. Rules regarding the words containing three udātta letters.
- V. Rules regarding the words of sarvodātta.
- VI. Rules regarding the words of sarvānudātta.
- VII. Rules regarding the words of antodātta.
- VIII. Optional cases with regard to svaras.

An *adhikāra* is made so as to apply to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a repeated designation.

I. In the heading of *anudātta*,

(i) *No nau me madarthe tridvyekēṣu* (II. 3).

This *sūtra* contains the repetition of treatment. Without the word 'tridvyekēṣu', its sense, that, which denotes the singular, the dual, and the plural to 'no', 'nau' and 'me' is brought out, and, as such, there is no special significance for that word.

In the same way, in *sūtra*,

(ii) *Vo vām te tvadarthe* (II. 5).

As the words 'vo', 'vām' and 'te' will come only in 'tvad-artha', the use of that word seems to be superfluous.

(iii) As the words 'girvaṇaḥ' and 'cikita' preceded by the prepositions 'pra' are 'āmantrita', they will acquire the grave accent by the general rule. But, here two complete *sūtras* are devoted to describe *anudātta* to these two words.

Among these remarks, regarding the first two, we have to take the explanation, that the author has described them in a clear manner, so, that the pupils may understand them easily. Regarding the remaining one, it can be stated that such rules are intended to those who do not know what is an 'āmantrita'.

In *sūtra* 2 and 16, the author mentions some words such as 'vā', 'ca', 'kam', 'u', 'cit', etc., and says if they are *nipātas*, they must be pronounced

by anudātta accent. But this rule affects the doctrine of grammarians who have stated *Nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*.

II. If the words 'kṛṣṇa', 'para', 'mātrā', 'karṇa', 'andha', 'etā', and 'rohita', (when not in a compound), mean animal, main, measure, limb of the body, heroism, and colour (etā and rohita), and if the word 'anta' is perverted by vibhakti-suffixes, and the words 'mahas' and 'śravas' come into neuter gender, they will become ādyudātta. These are illustrated below:

- (1) *Kṛṣṇóśyākhareṣṭaḥ* (Sam. II. 1).

Counter illustration:

Śvā kṛṣṇaḥ karṇo gárdabhaḥ

(Sam. XXIV. 40).

- (2) *Yasmān na jātaḥ paró anyo asti*

(Sam. VIII. 36).

Counter illustration:

Paro divā para enā pṛthivyā

(Sam. XVII. 29).

- (3) *Kasya mātrū na vidyate*

(Sam. XXIII. 47).

Counter illustration:

Vibhūr mātrū prabhūḥ pitrā

(Sam. XXII. 19).

- (4) *Bhadram karṇébhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devāḥ*

(Sam. XXV. 21).

Counter illustration:

Śvā kṛṣṇaḥ karṇo gárdabhaḥ

(Sam. XXIV. 40).

- (5) *Andhasthāndhó vo bhakṣīya*

(Saṃ. III. 20).

Counter illustration:

Svapnāyāndham adhārmāya

(Saṃ. XXX. 10).

- (6) *Etā aindrāgnāḥ* (Saṃ. XXIV. 8).

Counter illustration:

Etā me āgga iṣṭākāḥ (Saṃ. XVII. 2).

- (7) *Rohito dhūmraróhitaḥ* (Saṃ. XXIV. 2).

Counter illustration:

Róhita kúṇḍrṇācī (Saṃ. XXIV. 37).

- (8) *Samudraś ca madhyam cāntás ca*

(Saṃ. XVII. 2).

Counter illustration:

Antar yáccha maghavan (Saṃ. VII. 4).

- (9) *Mahastha maho vo bhakṣīya*

(Saṃ. III. 20).

Counter illustration:

Maho devāya (Saṃ. IV. 35).

- (10) *Agne tava śravo váyaḥ* (Saṃ. XII. 106).

Counter illustration:

Śravaś cá me śrutiś cá me

(Saṃ. XVIII. 1).

The word 'anta' is of two kinds. They are called 'vyayavān' and 'avyayavān'. When it is not perverted by vibhakti-suffixes or any other suffixes, and when it comes under the following description:

“*Sadrśam triṣu liṅgeṣu*

sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu.]

Vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu

yan na vyeti tad avyayam.||''

etc., it is called 'avyayavān', and that which is contrary to the above description, falls under the category of 'vyayavān'.

The meaning of the counter-illustration *Maho devāya* (Sam. IV. 35) is *mahate devāya*, and the suffix of caturthī-vibhakti is omitted being Cchāndasa (Vedic usage). Here, the word 'mahat' is in masculine gender as it qualifies the word 'deva'. In the same way we can see in another place also *Maho agneḥ* (Sam. XXXIII. 17) which means *mahata agneḥ*. But the use of the mantra illustrated here *Mahastha maho vo bhakṣīya* (Sam. III. 20) is at the time of walking of a cow (gogamana) and hence it will be feasible to think that the word 'mahat' must be in feminine gender. The author of the Prātiśākhya has treated this word as neuter, because this passage is commented in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* in the following manner:

“*Yāni vo vīryāni yāni vo manāṃsi tāni bhakṣīyeti.*”²

III. The following are the illustrations of the words which bear two udātta:

(1) *Bṛhaspatiḥ* (Sam. XVII. 40).

(2) *Mitrāvarúṇābbhyām tvā* (Sam. VII. 23).

(3) *Dyāvāprthivī* (Sam. XVII. 20), etc.

2. *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*. Kāṇḍa II. Prapāṭhaka 3. Brāhmaṇa 2. Kāṇḍikā 25.

In sūtra II. 47, the author has stated that the word 'tanūnapāt' bears two udātta accent. But when this word is followed by the word 'patha' the above rule does not arise.

E.g., *Tanūnapāt patha ṛtasya yānān*

(Sam. XXIX. 26).

IV. The word which bears three udātta-accent is shown below (II. 49).

Indrābr̥haspatī ūrubhkyām (Sam. XXV. 6).

V. The examples of sarvodayta-words are (II. 50, 51):

(1) *Agnā3i* (Sam. VIII. 10).

(2) *Lājī3n* (Sam. XXIII. 8).

(3) *Śācī3n* (Sam. XXIII. 8).

(4) *Om3kham bramha (praṇava)*.

According to rule, all these examples have letters containing three moras. For instance, in the first illustration the letter 'ā' and in the second and the third the letter 'ī' contain three moras. The formation of the word 'agnā3i' under the rule *Eco 'pragr̥hyasyā dūrāddhūte 'pūrvasyārdhasyā-duttarasyedutau* (Pāṇini. VIII. 2. 107), and Vārttika *Āmantrite chandasi plutavikāro'gram vaktavyaḥ*.

VI. The sarvānudātta word is illustrated in the following quotation:

Teṣu viśśvām bhuvanam āviveśā3

(Sam. XXIII. 49).

In sūtra II. 52, it is only stated that the word 'viveśā³' is a sarvānudātta, and its last letter must

be pronounced in the accent which will contain three moras. In a particular adhyāya which is designated as *Hiranya-garbha* this word occurs four times, in a particular section. This rule is in regard to these places, and hence it will not apply to the same word in other places:

(a) *Avārām āviveśa* (Sam. XVII. 17).

(b) *Abhisamviveśa* (Sam. XXXII. 11).

VII. The examples of antodātta words are given below:

(1) *Mā nō mittro varūṇo aryyamāyuh*
(Sam. XXV. 24).

(2) *Urvaśyāsy āyur āsi* (Sam. V. 2).

The sūtra II. 60, describes, that, if the word 'āyuh' is preceded by the words 'aryyamā', 'urvaśi', etc., it will become antodātta. According to this, the second illustration does not possess the word 'urvaśi' before it, because it is intervened by 'asi', and the word 'āyuh' is to be seen as antodātta. So it is an example from pada-text,

VIII. The optional case with regard to svara is illustrated below:

(1) *Pacān pakktih* (Sam. XXI. 59).

Here, the word 'pakktih' may come as ādyudātta and antodātta. It is left to the option of a man, who pronounces it.

In the second adhyāya rules regarding svara are described. The same subject is continued in the sixth adhyāya also. As it is so, it will be fair to think that the place of the sixth chapter must be

after the second. I have already pointed out with reasons, that the original *sūtra-pāṭha* of Kātyāyana has been lost to us, and the present form of the work is a misplacement of the original work, even before Uvvaṭa. In the second adhyāya, by the *sūtra Svaritavarjam ekodāttam padam* (II. 1), the common svaras of nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles (nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga, and nipāta) are described. By the *sūtra Vā ca kam u*, etc., (II. 16) and *No nau me*, etc., (II. 3), the special svaras regarding nipāta and nāma (particles and nouns) are also described. In the sixth adhyāya, the author attempts to describe the special svaras to the remaining two, upasarga and ākhyāta (prepositions and verbs), and the first 24 sūtras are devoted for the purpose. The remaining six sūtras treat of the duplication and triplication of sparśa-letters in some words. Among the first twenty-four sūtras, the first and the sūtras eleven to twenty-three, are related to verbs. The first sūtra treats of the general rule regarding svara (anudātta) of the verb, and in other sūtras the prakṛti-svara (the accent which is common to its prakṛti or the radical or crude form of a word) is determined to the verbs. The sūtras, two to ten, and the twenty-fourth one, are related to prepositions. Among them in the second, third and fourth the anudāttasvara is determined for prepositions, and the remaining six sūtras (five to ten) are exceptions to previous rule. The 24th sūtra mentions all the prepositions current in the White-Yajurvedic

Literature and determines Prakṛtisvara to them. For the sūtras VI. 20, 21, 22 and 23, the commentator has not given any illustrations from the Vēdic text, and in VI. 20, he makes remark, that the illustrations are hardly procurable from the Vedic texts. Commenting on the sūtra VI. 23, he observes:

Itthaṃbhūtāni cchandasya udāharaṇāni draṣṭavyāni.

On the other hand, he gives temporal illustrations to these four sūtras. So it will lead us to think that the examples of these may be found in the texts of other Śākhās which are lost to us. The author of the commentary styles the 'laukiko-dāharaṇa' or temporal illustrations as 'rūpodāharaṇa'.

The commentary on sūtra VI. 23, might have been in the following manner:

Ca vā ha aha eva etāni caprabhṛtīni yāny upapadāni uktāny ākhyātasya vikārīṇi teṣām artho yadi kathaṇcid avagamyaṭe tadā eteṣām upapadānām uccāraṇe'pi ākhyātam na vikriyate.

But in the printed texts of the work (Benares and Calcutta editions) before the completion of this sentence: before the word 'tadā' of the above sentence, the following portion is to be seen:

Tathā coktam:

*“Upasargāt paro yas tu
padādir api drśyate.*

*Uccasthānasthito yatra
gurum tatraiva kārayet.”|| iti.*

This portion which is in the form of a quotation, seems to be an interpolation, and as it is connected with the subject-matter of prepositions, it is irrelevant to the present rule. I think this portion also is a misplacement.

In sūtra VI. 24, twenty prepositions are mentioned and prakṛti-svara is determined for them. Here prakṛti-svara means the accent which is determined by grammarians to these prepositions. In this point the commentator observes:

Prakṛtisvaras tu vyākaraṇapaṭhito'tra grhyāte. Tathā ca tatsūtram—

'Nipātā ādyudāttāḥ.'

'Upasargās cābhivarjam' iti.

Tathā coktam—

Ekāro'tha cakāro vā

repho dīrghapareṣu ca |

Sam upasargetyetasted (?)

gurur eva na saṁśayaḥ ||

Uktānām upasargāṇām anityam upasargāguru. Yathā—

Anu yojānv indra te harī (Saṁ. III. 53).

Vimśater upasargāṇām

uccā ekākṣarā nava |

Ādyudāttā daśaiteṣām

antodāttas tv abhīty ayam ||

This description in the commentary denotes the chronology of Vyākaraṇa and Prātiśākhya works respectively.

Accent-signs—From early days the different accent-pitches were indicated with different marks

as can be seen even now in the old manuscripts of Vedic texts. A careful perusal of these manuscripts shows that there were different systems of indicating these accent-pitches. The difference between various systems seems to be very slight and often leads to confusion. Among these systems, one is well known and has been followed by later writers. It may be, perhaps, to avoid such confusions that some of the later authors of minor treatises have explained their own method in their works. For instance compare the *Mallaśarma-kṛtā Śikṣā* (*Hastāsvara-prakriyā*).³

“*Atha rekhābhīr udāttā-nudātta-svarita-
saṃjñā—*

*Ūrdhvarekhā tu varṇasya
mūrdhni tiṣṭhati yā sthirā |
Tam udāttam vijānīyād
dviṣvare svaritam tu tam ||
Tiryag rekhā ca varṇasya
pādapārsve sthitā tu yā |
Anudāttam vijānīyāt
svaritam vā sahāyataḥ |
Varṇasya varṭtulākāram
pade tiṣṭhati kevalam |
Svaritam tu vijānīyāt
svaraḍidbhīr udīritam ||”*

Regarding these accent-signs, Prof. Whitney observes as follows:

3. *Śikṣāsaṃgraha*, Benares edition. 1893. Page 156.

Extract from William Dwight Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, page 30, (2nd Edition, 1923).

“87. The accentuation is marked in manuscripts only of the older literature: namely, in the primary Vedic texts, or Saṃhitas, in two of the Brāhmaṇas (Taittirīya and Śatapatha), in the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, in certain passages of the Aitareya-āraṇyaka, and in the Suparṇādhyāya. There are a number of methods of writing accent more or less different from one another: the one found in manuscripts of the Ṛg-veda, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications is as follows:

(a) The acute syllable is left unmarked; the circumflex, whether independent or enclitic,⁴ has a short perpendicular stroke above; and the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a short horizontal stroke below. Thus:

अग्निम् ; जुहोति' ; तन्वां क'

(b) But the introductory grave stroke below cannot be given if an acute syllable is initial; hence, an unmarked syllable at the beginning of a word is to be understood as acute; and hence also, if several grave syllables precede an acute at the

4. “But further, the Hindu Grammarians agree in declaring the (naturally grave) syllable following an acute, whether in the same or in other word, to be svarita, or circumflex—unless, indeed, it be itself followed by an acute or circumflex, in which case it retains its grave tone. This is called by European Scholars the enclitic or dependent circumflex” (Ibid., page 29).

beginning of a sentence, they must all alike have the grave sign. Thus:

इन्द्र ; ते ; करिष्यसि ; तुविजाता

(c) All the grave syllables, however, which follow a marked circumflex are left unmarked, until the occurrence of another accented syllable causes the one which precedes it to take the preparatory stroke below. Thus:

सुदृशीकसन्दक् ; but

सुदृशीकसन्दृग्गवाम्

(d) If an independent circumflex be followed by an accute (or by another independent circumflex), a figure 1, is set after the former circumflexed vowel if it be short, or a figure 3, if it be long, and the signs of accent are applied as in the following examples:

अप्स्वन्तः (from apsu>antah).

रायोऽवनिः (from rāyo>avanih).

The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the Prātisākhya give no account of it. In the scholastic utterance of the syllable so designated is made a peculiar quaver or roulade of the voice, called kampa or vikampa.

(e) The accent marks are written with red ink in the manuscripts, being added after the text is written, and perhaps often by another hand.

88. (a) Nearly accordant with this, the R̥g-veda method of designating accent, are the methods

employed in the manuscripts of the Atharva-veda, of the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, and of the Taittiriya-saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka. Their differences from it are of trifling importance, consisting mainly in peculiar ways of marking the circumflex that precedes an acute (87 d.). In some manuscripts of the Atharva-veda, the accent marks are dots instead of strokes, and that for the circumflex is made within the syllable instead of above it.

(b) In most manuscripts of the Maitrāyaṇi-saṃhitā, the accented syllable itself, besides its surroundings, is marked—namely, by a perpendicular stroke above the syllable (like that of the ordinary circumflex in the RV. method). The independent circumflex has a hook beneath the syllable, and the circumflex before an acute (87 d.) is denoted simply by a figure 3, standing before instead of after the circumflexed syllable.

(c) The *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* uses only a single accent sign, the horizontal stroke beneath the syllable (like the mark for grave in RV.). This is put under an acute, only under the preceding syllable. To mark an independent circumflex, it is put under the preceding syllable. The method is an imperfect one, allowing many ambiguities.

(d) The Sāma-veda method is the most intricate of all. It has a dozen different signs, consisting of figures, or of figures and letters combined, all placed above the syllables, and varying according both to the accentual character of the

syllable and to its surroundings. Its origin is obscure; if anything more is indicated by it than by the other simpler systems, the fact has not been demonstrated."

In the fourth adhyāya from the sūtra 129 to 141, Kātyāyana lays down the rules with regard to the combination of accents (svara-sandhi). These rules can be verified under two main headings:

(1) Rules enunciating the union (ekībhāva) of the accents: udātta, anudātta, svarita, and pracaya (IV. 129-134).

(2) Rules regarding the accents of vowels which are interpolated with consonants (IV. 135-141).

The first two sūtras are in a more general character and Uvvaṭa says that the former is a paribhāṣā-sūtra and the latter is an adbhikāra-sūtra, because they furnish the following general principles:

(1) Hereafter, when, in a combination of accents, no substitute is allowed, there will be no change.

Uvvaṭa: "ita uttaram svarāṇām udāttā-nudātta-svarita-pracitānām ekībhāvagatam vikāram vivakṣuḥ paribhāṣām cakārācāryo'nādeṣe' vikārah (IV. 129) iti. Yatrodāttādīnām svarāṇām sandhāvādeṣo na kriyate tatpāṇvikārah pratyetaṇyaḥ. Yathā:

Agnir mūrdhā divaḥ kakut (Sam. III. 12).

Tathā—

Iyam uparī (Sam. XIII. 58)."

(2) The rules laid down before the sūtra *udāttāc cānudāttam svaritam* (IV. 135), are with regard to the union of akṣaras or vowels (IV. 130).

Note: The word akṣara means vowel.

Svaro'kṣaram (I. 99).

Uvvaṭa remarks that this is an adhikāra-sūtra.

Rules enunciating the union of accents.

1. The union (what enters into) with the svarita becomes svarita.

E.g., *Patthyā iva > patthye⁴va sūreḥ*

(Sam. XI. 5).

Camvī iva > camvī⁴va somāḥ

(Sam. XX. 79).

These are the examples of Jātya-svarita.

Bramha asṛjyata > bramhāsṛjyata

(Sam. XIV. 28).

Mṛtyave asitaḥ > mṛtyavé'sitaḥ

(Sam. XXIV. 37).

These are the examples of Tairovyañjana-svarita.

2. The union (what enters into) with the acute becomes acute (IV. 132).

This acute will be in front and backwards. Elsewhere udātta, anudātta, svarita, or pracita.

E.g., (a) Udātta in both places:

Ye anneṣu > ye'nnéṣu

(Sam. XVI. 62).

Drūnānaḥ astā > drūṇāno'stāsi

(Saṃ. XIII. 9).

(b) Udātta followed by anudātta:

Pra arpayatu > prārpáyatu

(Saṃ. I. 1).

Ā idam > edám (Saṃ. IV. 1).

(c) Udātta preceded by anudātta:

Trā āśābhyah > tvāśābhyah

(Saṃ. I. 18).

Me aṅgāni > meṅgāni sarvātaḥ.

(Saṃ. XX. 8).

(d) Udātta followed by svarita:

*Su ūrvyāya > nama ūrvyāya ca sūrv-
yāya ca* (Saṃ. XVI. 45).

This is an illustration of avagraha place.

(e) Udātta preceded by svarita:

Adyūtye avase > adyūtye'vāse

(Saṃ. XXXIV. 29).

Supvā iti > supveti (Saṃ. I. 3).

Note: The second example is from the pada text. In a combination of udātta and svarita, the result is udātta. Because, by the general rule *Vipratishedha uttaram balavad alope* (I. 159) the rules of udātta become 'para' and the rules of svarita become 'pūrva', and of both these rules the para-rule is powerful.

(f) Udātta preceded by pracita:

*Vājajitaḥ āddhvanah > vājīno vājajito'-
ddhvānah* (Saṃ. IX. 13).

3. The letter 'i', which comes between two short letters, preceded by an udātta, and followed by an anudātta, becomes svarita (IV. 133).

E.g., *Srucī iva > srucī⁴va ghr̥tam*

(Sam. XX. 70).

Abhi indhatām > abhi⁴ndhatām

(Sam. XI. 61).

Counter illustration:

Hi īm > vi hīm iddhaḥ (Sam. XII. 6).

Here the letter 'i' is not found between two short vowels.

Imē itīme (Sam. XXIX. 34).

Here 'i' is not preceded by udātta.

4. The union of the word 'vīkṣitāya' becomes svarita (IV. 134).

E.g., *Vīkṣitāyēti vi-īkṣitāya* (Sam. XXII. 8).

Note: In this example svarita cannot be assigned by the previous rule, because the letter 'i' is not to be seen between two short letters, though it is preceded by udātta. Hence Kātyāyana lays down this special rule.

Kṣaipra-svarita.

In addition to the above rules Kātyāyana has laid down in the fourth adhyāya some rules regarding svaras and their changes in the euphony. They are as follows:

I. If an acute letter changes into a semi-vowel, the following grave accent changes into a circumflex (IV. 48).

E.g., *Tri āmbakam* > *tryámbakam*

(Sam. III. 69).

Devī etu > *devy⁴etu* (Sam. XXXIII. 89).

Dru annaḥ > *drvánnah* (Sam. XI. 70).

Nu indraḥ > *Yojānv i⁴ndra*

(Sam. III. 52).

Note: This prescription of svarita-svara is already made by Kātyāyana in his rule I. 115:

Yuvarṇau yavau kṣaipraḥ,

and one will doubt that there is no special use to this rule. Here Uvvaṭa remarks that it is true the rule I. 115 prescribes Kṣaipra-svarita in the combination of two vowels, but there it is not specifically stated whether the svarita comes instead of the first vowel or the second. The present rule is with regard to the change of the following vowel.

Abhinihita-svarita.

If the acute-letters 'e' and 'o' are followed by an anudātta 'a', they will change into Abhinihita-svarita (IV. 62).

E.g., *Vedo asi* > *vedo⁴'si* (Sam. II. 21).

Te apsarasām > *te⁴psarasām*

(Sam. XXIV. 37).

Note: This rule seems to be a repetition of the rule already laid down with regard to the Abhinihita-svarita in I. 114. But Uvvaṭa remarks in the following manner:

Edodbhīyām akāro lūg abhinihitah (I. 114)
iti svaritatvam vihitam eva, iha tv apavādārtham tad usyate.

The same general rule is enunciated here once again for the purpose of annulment.

• In the next sūtra the annulment is stated as follows:

The letter 'e' of the word 'deśe' will not change into svarita when it is followed by the letter 'a' of the word 'abhavad' (IV. 63).

E.g., *Deśe abhavat > so deśe ábhavat sarit*

(Sam. XXXIV. 11).

SECTION IV.

EUPHONIC CHANGES AND COMBINATIONS.

Kātyāyana, at the beginning of the treatise, has proclaimed his engagement in describing the rules of 'svara' and 'saṃskāra' of 'Chandas', by the following sūtra:

Svara-saṃskārayoḥ chandasi niyamah (I. 1).

According to the order of this declaration, the treatment of 'svara' falls at first, and it is described in the previous section. The topic explained in the third adhyāya is 'saṃskāra' which includes 'lopa' (omission), 'āgama' (augment), 'varṇa-vikāra' (substitute), and 'prakṛtibhāva' (acquirement of original form of a letter). In vedic science the word 'sandhi' is used where the end of a 'pada' and the beginning of another 'pada' is combined, and hence the treatment of the definition of 'pada' has become inevitable. The author of the Prātiśākhya has defined the same by the sūtra

Arthaḥ padam (III. 2).

The name 'pada' is given to a word which gives a meaning. The etymology of 'pada' is described as follows:

Padyate gamyate jñāyate'rtho'neneti padam.

According to this observation, the 'nipāta' (particle) could not be styled 'pada', because it has

no meaning. On the other hand, all the authors of phonetico-grammatical treatises without exception, have approved that 'nipāta' is a 'pada'. In the concluding adhyāya of his treatise, as Kātyāyana has classified 'pada' into four kinds, according to their sense, and as among which 'nipāta' is also included as one, it is assumable that there is no doubt in terming 'nipāta' as 'pada'. But the above description and the etymology of 'pada' are shown here, simply to prevent the name 'pada' to the component parts of 'pada' and to those that resemble 'pada'. Besides this Kātyāyana has said:

Nipātāḥ pādapūraṇāḥ (VIII. 46).

This passage states that 'nipāta' has some meaning (pādapūraṇārtha), and the above etymology is also applicable here in this sense.

Classification of 'sandhi' or euphonic combinations—The *sandhi*-rules treated in the third adhyāya are under the heading of 'Saṃhitā' and this heading continues till the end of the seventh adhyāya. The rules, which govern the changes of the initial and final sounds of words in the sentence and in composition are called *sandhi*-rules.

Generally the 'sandhi' is of four kinds:

- (1) Between two vowels.
- (2) Between the consonants.
- (3) Between a vowel and a following consonant.
- (4) Between a consonant and a following vowel.

- (i) *ā idam > edam* (Saṃ. IV. 1).
- (ii) *saṃ vapāmi > saṃv vapāmi* (Saṃ. I. 21).
- (iii) *iṣe tvā > iṣet tvā* (Saṃ. I. 1).
- (iv) *ut enām > ud enām* (Saṃ. XVII. 50).

Uvvaṭa has remarked that the sūtra

Padānta-padādyoḥ sandhiḥ (III. 3).

which describes the characteristics of euphony, is a 'paribhāṣā-sūtra'. If it is so, it may be remembered here, that it must have occupied a place in the chapter, which defines all the saṃjñās and paribhāṣās. In the same way, the following two sūtras¹ (III. 4 and 5) engaged in defining some adjustment, also deserve to be paribhāṣā-sūtras, but Uvvaṭa keeps silent here.

Arrangement of 'sandhi' rules—In the third adhyāya, the rules, which are related to word-endings, will not be applicable when they are followed by the word 'iti'. Here Kātyāyana describes many euphonic rules. He describes them in an order, but in many places the order is fractured, by the supposed misplacement of sūtras. For example:

(1) Before completing the rules relating to the visarjanīya-sandhi, many other things are mentioned (III. 18).

(2) The sūtra III. 45 makes substitute to the letter 'sa', and this subject is continued in sūtra III.

1. They describe, when two or more rules are applicable in a particular case, the former will be effective.

55 only, breaking the continuity of the subject by ten sūtras which describe some other topic.

In each subject, the 'saṃskāra' related to 'lopa', 'āgama', 'prakṛtibhāva', and ādeśa', is described. As the treatment of the subject is beyond any perfect order or methodical arrangement, it is summarised below under separate headings.

Viśarjanīya-saṃskāra:

(A) Substitutes to Viśarjanīya:

Viśarjanīya changes into (i) 'śa' (III. 7); (ii) 'sa' (III. 8, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38); (iii) 'para-svaraṇa' (III. 9); (iv) jīhvāmūliya (III. 12); (v) upadh-mānīya (III. 12); (vi) 'ṣa' (III. 22, 23, 30, 32, 34, 38); (vii) 'repha' (III. 39, 41); (viii) 'ukāra' (III. 42, 43, 44); and (ix) 'o' (III. 46).

Note: Among these substitutes, if 'viśarjanīya' changes into 'repha' (in some places only), 'ukāra' and 'okāra', the following dental letters will also change into linguals at the same time, because the rules regarding these changes have fallen under the heading-sūtra:

Paraś ca mūrdhanyam (III. 40), which determines the change of 'dantyaś' into linguals.

The above changes are effected in such of the following places:

(i) *Vājah ca me > vājaś ca me*

(Saṃ. XVIII. 1).

(ii) *Namaḥ te > namaś te* (Saṃ. XVI. 1).

(iii) *Āsuh śisānah* > *āsus śisānah*

(Sam. XVII. 33).

(iv) *Tataḥ khanema* > *tata* > *khanema*
(*jihvāmūliya*). (Sam. XI. 22).

(v) *Vasoḥ pavitram* > *vaso* > *pavitram*
(*upadhmāniya*). (Sam. I. 2).

(vi) *Vasuh kavih* > *vasuḥ kavih*

(Sam. XV. 36).

(vii) *Ahaḥ pataye* > *ahar pataye*

(Sam. IX. 20).

(viii) *Duh dabhah* > *dūdabhah* (*paraś ca mūrdhanyam*) (Sam. III. 36).

(ix) *Itaḥ siñcata* > *itas siñcata*. *Parīto*² *siñcatā sutam* (Sam. XIX. 2).

(B) 'Visarjanīya' is dropped (III. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17).

Examples:

Saḥ no > *sa no* (Sam. III. 26).

(C) *Prakṛtibhāva* (III. 10, 11).

Example:

Āsuh śisānah (this is according to the preceptor Śākalya only).

. *Samskāra related to 'sa':*

(A) Substitute to 'sa':

The letter 'sa' changes into (i) 'da' (III. 45); and (ii) 'ṣa' (III. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79).

2. Here the letter 'o' is exceptional. Otherwise the 'para-savarṇa' will come and the form will be *itassiñcata*.

Examples:

(i) *Anas vāham* > *anadvāham*

(Saṃ. XXXV. 13).

(ii) *Go sthānam* > *goṣṭhānam*

(Saṃ. I. 25).

(B) *Prakṛtibhāva* (III. 81, 82, 83, 84).

Example:

*Prthivī sadantvā*³ (Saṃ. IX. 2).*Saṃskāra related to short vowel:*

(i) A short vowel will change into a long one (III. 97, 98, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130); (ii) Prevention of 'dīrgha' to short vowel (III. 99, 100, 101, 107, 116); (iii) Dīrghanipāta (III. 120).

Examples:

(i) *Aśva vatīm* > *aśvāvatīm*

(Saṃ. XII. 81).

(ii) *Hiranyavad aśvarat* (Saṃ. VIII. 63).(iii) *Pūruṣaḥ* (Saṃ. XII. 91).*Saṃskāra related to letter 'na':*

(A) Substitutes to 'na'.

(i) 'Na' changes into 'ṇa' (III. 85, 86, 89); (ii) 'śa' (III. 135); (iii) 'sa' (III. 136); (iv) 'vi-sarjanīya' (III. 141); (v) 'repha' (III. 142); and (vi) 'ya' (III. 143); (vii) Prevention of the change into 'sa' (III. 144).

3. This is Mādhyandina's reading. Kāṇvas are reciting this with 'śa'.

(B) Substitute (ādeśa).

(i) The last letter with its penultimate letter of the word 'ṣaṭ' will change into 'o' and the following letter also will change into 'lingual' (III. 47); (ii) 'ta' will change into 'ṭa' if it is preceded by the sound 'āghā'⁶ (III. 48); (iii) 'Dha' changes into 'da' (III. 55); (iv) 'ta' and 'tha' change into 'ṭa' and 'ṭha' respectively, if the former letters are preceded by 'ṣa' (III. 80).

Examples:

- (i) *Ṣaṭ daśa* > *ṣoḍaśa*⁷ (Sam. XVIII. 25).
 (ii) *Āghātaḥ* > *āghāṭaḥ* (Sam. XXIV. 35).
 (iii) *Dudhukṣan* > *dudukṣan*
 (Sam. XXXIII. 28).
 (iv) *Sthaḥ* > *ṣṭhaḥ* (Sam. XI. 30).

(C) Lopa.

The letter 'ni' is dropped at the end of a word⁸ (III. 18).

6. "Vāghā" (?)

7. Uvvaṭa has given another example also:

Ṣaḍ dantā asyeti ṣoḍantaḥ and has remarked, that this word could not be seen in the 'Samhitā' text, but this temporal illustration has been presented here only to understand the subject clearly. See Uvvaṭa, III. 47. Some others say, that this can be seen in the text of other schools, which runs as follows: *Ṣoḍanto asya mahato mahitvā*.

8. The sūtra is *Niśabdo bahulam* (II. 183. This sūtra contains the word 'bahula' and it means that the dropping of 'ni' is not to be effected in all the places. E.g., *Etā te agghnye nāmāni* (Sam. VIII. 43). In some places, the 'i' alone of 'ni' is dropped. E.g., *Eman tsādayāmi* (Sam. XIII. 53). Here the word 'emani' has become 'eman'. In some places 'u' alone of 'ni' is dropped.

Example:

Śṛṅgāṇi > *śṛṅgā* (Saṃ. XVII. 91).

(D) Nipāta.

(i) The letter 'ṣa' (III. 73, 75); and (ii) the letter 'ṇa' (III. 87, 88).⁹

Examples:

(i) *Pr̥tanāsāhyāya* > *pr̥tanāsāhyāya*
(Saṃ. XVIII. 68).

(ii) *Rathavāhanam* > *rathavāhaṇam*
(Saṃ. XXIX. 45).

(D) The letter 'i' connected with 'saptamyā-mantritavibhakti' will not be dropped (III. 140).

Example:

He pr̥thivi (Saṃ. I. 25).

(F) When the suffix is in the form of vowels, then only the 'anunāsika' will become 'upadhā' (III. 132).

Examples:

Mahān indrah (Saṃ. XXVI. 10).

E.g., *Iṣkartāram* (Saṃ. XII. 110). Here *niṣkartāram* has become *iṣkartāram*. The sense of the word 'bahula' is identical with the 'bāhulaka' (interminable applicability of a rule) of Vaiyākaranas, which is defined as follows:

Kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacīd aproṇṭtiḥ
kvacit vibhūṣā kvacīd anyad eva |
Vidher vidhānam bahudhā samīkṣya
caturvidham bāhulakam vadanti ||

9. *Parīṇa iti śākaṭāyanah* (III. 88). According to *śākaṭāyana* 'parīṇa' is a 'nipāta'. Here Kāṇvas pronounce the word with 'ṇa', while the Vājasaneyins without 'ṇa'.

In sūtra III. 6, under the heading ‘visarjanīya’ the ‘visarjanīya-sandhi’ begins. Uvvaṭa has said, that from the above sūtra, till III. 96, Kātyāyana describes the euphonic changes: ‘lopa’, ‘āgama’ and ‘varṇa-vikāra’ between two consonants. After sūtra III. 96, he describes the changes of vowels which happen to be at the combination of a ‘svara’ and a following consonant. In sūtra III. 131, the ‘adhikāra’ (heading), that ‘svara’ changes in ‘anunāsika’ begins. In the same manner in the ‘sūtra’ III. 134, the ‘adhikāra’ of the letter ‘na’ begins. The subject-matter of the sūtras III. 19 and 20, is briefly narrated in a ‘kārikā’ (ānuṣṭubha) for the by-heart study conveniently, which is given below:

“*Lopāgamavikārāś ca
naivetikaraṇe smṛtāḥ |*

*Avagrahas tu carcāyām
itinā copadiśyate” ||*

Kṛṣṭiskṛdhi (Sam. IV. 10).

In the above example the ‘visarjanīya’ changes into ‘sa’ under the rule:

Kaviṣkarathkṛdhisu (III. 32).

But Kātyāyana has devoted a separate ‘sūtra’:

Kṛṣṭś ca kṛdhau sakāram (III. 33),

in order to make ‘visarjanīya’ into ‘sa’ and this seems to be inconsistent. Here Uvvaṭa gives an unappreciable explanation which is not at all adequate to set aright this incongruity.

There is no example available to sūtra III. 43. • This sūtra describes that if the word (pratyaya) 'nāśa' is following, the 'visarjanīya' of 'duḥ', will change into 'u', and Uvvaṭa has illustrated this with:

*Duḥ nāśaḥ > dūnāśaḥ.*¹⁰

This seems to be one of his own ventures. As the change of 'na' into 'ṇa', which is defined in sūtra III. 96, is being already expressed by the sūtras III. 85 and 86, there is no special use of the former, except for exhibiting the subject clearly. In sūtras III. 132, 133, 135, etc., some changes are prescribed for svaras: the penultimate vowel will change into a nasal sound.

The vowels have some peculiar qualities. They are—(1) 'hrasva', (2) 'dīrgha', (3) 'pluta', (4) 'udātta', (5) 'anudātta', (6) 'svarita', (7) 'sānunāsika' and (8) 'niranunāsika'. The change of a 'svara' means the 'svara' which is seen possessing one of these qualities, will change into another. But this change will take place only when a change takes place to the following letters 'na' and 'ma'. It should be noted specially, that when, in a place a 'na' or a 'ma' is dropped or acquired its original form

10. Paṇḍit Yugalakiśoraśarman remarks that this illustration is an extract from the Saṃhitā-text of some other school, and gives the following quotation in support of his opinion:

*"durnāmānnaḍo bahudakṣiṇo dūṇāśaś ca iti sautraḥ.
Dūṇāśam sakhyam tava."*

(prakṛtibhāva) subsequently the vowel also will not change into any other form.

E.g.,

Ahīn ca > ahīmś ca (Sam. XVI. 5).

Here, as the letter 'n' has changed into 'ś' the change of the vowel 'i' into 'anunāsika' also took place.

E.g.,

Dadhanvān yaḥ (Sam. XIX. 2).

Here, as there is no change to the letter 'na' the change will not affect the vowel also. This subject is also briefly narrated in a 'kārikā' which runs thus:

“*Svarāṇām ānunāsikyam
pratiḥjānanti sarvadā |
Varjayitvā tam ākāram
yatra lopo vidhīyate ||*”¹¹

In sūtra III. 135, it is stated that 'na' will change into 'śa' when it is followed by 'ca' or 'cha'. The example for this rule is not procurable from the 'Saṃhitā'-text. Hence the commentator has given a temporal illustration, as follows:

Vidvāmschakārah.

Generally the Prātiśākhya rules are determined to be applicable, in such places of vedic

11. This dictum is from the *Vāsiṣṭha-śikṣā*. The same fact is cited in the *Pārāśarī śikṣā* also:

*Upadhāraṇjanam kuryān manor vikaraṇe sati |
Lope prakṛtibhāve ca nopadhāraṇjanam bhavet ||*

texts, where Vyākaraṇa has not attempted. As against this principle some cases are to be seen in this treatise. For instance, in sūtra III. 58, it is stated that the 's' will change into 'ṣ', if it is preceded by 'ka' or 'repha'. Here the 'ṣ' can be earned by Vyākaraṇa rule, and hence, there is no necessity for a special rule to be treated in the Prātiśākhya. The general principle is this. Wherever the differences¹² arise between the 'ārṣa-saṃhitā' and 'pada-saṃhitā', there the Prātiśākhya has to characterise this difference by rules of changes, and wherever the two above texts are to be seen the same, it is the subject-matter of Vyākaraṇa and not of Prātiśākhya.

In this chapter also, Uvvaṭa takes some illustrations from the texts of other schools.

NOTE.

1. The Sandhi-rules are laid down in the third and fourth *adhyāyas* of the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*. The rules enunciated in the whole of the third *adhyāya* (except the first 18 aphorisms) are not applicable when 'iti' follows. At the beginning of the third chapter the author of the treatise begins to lay down the rules under the heading *Samhitā*, and this heading continues till the end of the seventh *adhyāya*. The rules IV. 13, and IV. 181—196 are applicable only to the *krama* text. Uvvaṭa illustrates the rule IV. 13, by

'*pari cil lokam*' (Sam. XII. 45),

12. E.g., *susāva* (ārṣa-saṃhitā), *susāva* (pada-saṃhitā).

and remarks that it is an example of *krama-saṃhitā*. Rules IV. 18—33 and 181—196 are related to the *pada* text, IV. 17 to *saṃhitā* and *pada*, IV. 25 to *saṃhitā*, *pada* and *krama*, IV. 84 to the *saṃhitā* of the *Ṛk.*, *Yajus*, and IV. 64—78 to the *saṃhitā* of the *Ṛk.*, and to the *krama* text of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* also.

II. The rules IV. 11 to IV. 124 are under *kālādhikāra* which is signified by 'hi', which forms a *sūtra* in the beginning and ending places, to show the currency of the *paribhāṣā*,

‘*na parakālaḥ pūrvakāle punaḥ*’ (III. 4)

which prevents the *parakāla-sandhi*, if a previous rule is applicable.

III. Generally the euphony takes place only to the endings and beginnings of the words. But the following rules are with regard to *saṃānapada*, *nānāpada* or *antaḥpada*.

Samānapada: III. 56, 81, 82, 83, 85.

IV. 142, 144, 156, 164.

Antaḥpada:

IV. 2, 8, 9, 17, 100, 101, 102, 104,
105, 107, 108-117, 161.

1. A.

1. The final 'a' of the words 'asva', 'śva', 'suta', 'cāraya', 'sedima', 'indriya', 'dhāraya', 'citra', 'bhaṅgura', 'vayuna', 'asvasya', 'hṛdaya', 'ghuṣya', 'ṛta', 'avāta', and 'arca', is lengthened, if they are followed by 'va' (III. 98).

E.g., *Aśvāvatīm somāvatīm* (Sam. XII. 81).

Ścāvid bhaumī (Sam. XXIV. 33).

Viprajūtaḥ sutāvataḥ (Sam. XX. 88).

Samañjiñ cārayā vṛṣam (Sam. XXIII. 21).

Devānām sakhyam upasedimā vayam
(Sam. XXV. 15).

Indriyāvān madintamaḥ (Sam. VI. 27).

Bṛhaspate dhārayā vasūni (Sam. VI. 8).

Citrāvaso svasti'te (Sam. III. 18).

Hantāram bhaṅgurāvatām (Sam. XI. 26).

Vihotrā dadhe vayunā v'id ekaḥ
(Sam. V. 14).

Ekas tvaṣṭur asvasyā viśastā
(Sam. XXV. 42).

Utāpavaktā hṛdayā vidhaś cit
(Sam. VIII. 23).

Paruṣṣparur anu ghuṣyā viśastā
(Sam. XXV. 41).

Ṛtāvānam mahiṣam (Sam. XII. 111).

Idam me prāvatā vacaḥ (Sam. XII. 88).

Arcā viśvānarāya viśvā bhuve
(Sam. XXXIII. 23).

2. The final 'a' of 'aśva' in 'aśvavat' is not lengthened, if the latter is preceded by 'hiraṇya' (III. 99).

E.g., *Āpavasva hiraṇyavad aśvavat*
(Saṃ. VIII. 63).

3. The final 'a', in 'aśvasya', is not lengthened, if it is followed by 'vājinah' (III. 101).

E.g., *Aśvasya vājinas tvaci simāh*
(Saṃ. XXII. 37).

4. The 'a' of 'viśva' is lengthened, if it is followed by 'nara', 'hā', 'mitra', 'saha', 'bhuva', 'puṣa', or 'vasu' (III. 102, 103).

E.g., *Arcā viśvānarāya* (Saṃ. XXXIII. 23).
Viśvā hā śarma yacchatu (Saṃ. XVII. 48).
Viśvāmitra ṛṣih (Saṃ. XIII. 57).
Viśvāsāham avase nūtanāya
(Saṃ. VII. 36).
Arcā viśvānarāya viśvā bhuve
(Saṃ. XXXIII. 23).
Viśvāpuṣam rayim (Saṃ. XXV. 45).
Gandharvas tvā viśvāvasuḥ (Saṃ. II. 3).

5. The 'a' of 'tiṣṭha' is lengthened, if the word is 'ādyudātta' (III. 104).

E.g., *Tiṣṭhā devo na savitā* (Saṃ. XI. 42).
Tiṣṭhā ratham adhi yaṃ vajrahastā
(Saṃ. X. 22).

Counter illustration:

Ā tiṣṭha vrtrahan ratham
(Saṃ. VIII. 33).

6. The 'a' of 'pra' is lengthened, if it is followed by 'vana', 'śṛṅga' or 'yāsa' (III. 105).

E.g., *Prāvaṇebhis sajoṣasaḥ* (Sam. XII. 50).

Prā śṛṅgā māhendrāḥ (Sam. XXIV. 17).

Prayāsāya svāhā (Sam. XXXIX. 11).

7. The final 'a' of 'ava' is not lengthened, if it is followed by 'nayāmi' (III. 107).

E.g., *Ava nayāmi vaiṣṇavān* (Sam. V. 25).

8. The final 'a', at the end of 'dhārayāma', 'yoja', 'ava', 'sacasva', 'muda', 'jayata', 'urusya', 'rakṣa', 'yaja', 'yaccha', 'matsatha', 'pipṛta', 'gāyata', and 'yena' will change into long 'ā', if followed by 'na' (III. 108).

E.g., *Dhārayāmā namobhik* (Sam. XVII. 90).

Yojānvīndra te (Sam. III. 52).

Īvā no devyā dhīyā (Sam. XI. 41).

Sacasvā naḥ svastaye (Sam. III. 24).

Agne jātān pra mudā naḥ (Sam. XV. 1)

Pretā jayatā naraḥ (Sam. XVII. 46).

Uruṣyāno aghāyataḥ (Sam. III. 26).

Rakṣā no brahmaṇaspate (Sam. III. 30).

Yajā no mitrāvaruṣā (Sam. XXXIII. 3).

Yacchā naḥ śarma saprathāḥ

(Sam. XXXVI. 13).

Api yathā yuvāno matsathā naḥ

(Sam. XXXIII. 34).

Nirāṁhasaḥ pipṛtā niravadyāt

(Sam. XXXIII. 42).

Upāsme gāyatā narah

(Sam. XXXIII. 62).

Yenā naḥ pūrve pitarah

(Sam. XXXIV. 17).

9. The final 'a' of 'bhava' is lengthened, if it is followed by the letter 'na', 'sacā', 'varūthya', 'vājasya', or 'pāyu' (III. 109, 110).

E.g., *Bhavā naḥ saprathastamaḥ sakhā vṛdhe*

(Sam. XII. 114).

Indra prāsūrbhavā saca

(Sam. XXXIV. 56).

Uta trātā śivo bhavā varūthyah

(Sam. III. 25).

Bhavā vājasya saṅgathe (Sam. XII. 112).

Savā pāyur viśo asyā adabdhah

(Sam. XIII. 11).

10. The final 'a' of 'śratha', 'udāritha', 'śoca', 'panaya', 'sādaya', 'vṛṣa', 'salakṣma', 'gha', 'agha', 'ṛta', and 'bhavata' will be lengthened if followed by 'ya' (III. 113).

E.g., *Avādhamam vimadhyamam śrathāya*

(Sam. XII. 12).

Yasmād yoner udārithā yaja

(Sam. XVII. 75).

Brhac chocā yaviṣṭhya (Sam. III. 3).

Devatrā panayā yujam (Sam. XIX. 64).

Sādayū yajñam sukṛtasya yonau

(Sam. XI. 35).

- Vṛṣāyamāṇo vṛṣabhas turāṣāt*
(Sam. XX. 46).
Salakṣmā yad viṣurūpam bhavati
(Sam. VI. 20).
Āghā ye agnim (Sam. VII. 32).
Aghāyataḥ sam asmāt (Sam. III. 26).
Madhu vātā ṛtāyate (Sam. XIII. 27).
Arvāṅco adyā bhavatā yajatrāḥ
(Sam. XXXIII. 51).

11. The 'a' of 'va' is lengthened, if followed by 'vṛdha' or 'vṛja' (III. 114).

- E.g., *Asmaddryag vāvṛdhe* (Sam. VII. 39).
Pra vā vṛje (Sam. XXXIII. 44).

12. The final 'a' of 'adya' will be lengthened, if followed by 'tam', 'ha', 'ca', 'bhavata', 'vṛṇīmahe', or 'deva' (III. 115).

- E.g., *Adyā tam asya mahimānam*
(Sam. XXXIII. 97).
Adyā huvema (Sam. VIII. 45).
Havam adyā ca mṛdaya (Sam. XXI. 1).
Adyā bhavatā yajatrāḥ
(Sam. XXXIII. 51).
Tad devānām avo adyā vṛṇīmahe
(Sam. XXXIII. 17).
Adyā devāḥ (Sam. XXXIII. 42).

13. The final 'a' of 'adya' is not lengthened, if followed by 'hotṛ' (III. 116).

E.g., *Tam adya hotariṣitaḥ* (Sam. XXIX. 34).

Agnim adya hotāram arṇūtāyam

(Sam. XXI. 59).

14. The final 'a' of 'śrṇuta', 'bhavata', 'piba', 'ita', 'sma', 'tiṣṭha' and 'rakṣa' is lengthened, if followed by 'ma' (III. 117).

E.g., *Śrṇutā ma imam havam* (Sam. VII. 34).

Ādityāso bhavatā mṛdayantaḥ

(Sam. VIII. 4).

Pibā mitrasya dhāmabhiḥ

(Sam. XXXIII. 10).

Itā maruto āśvinā (Sam. XXXIII. 47).

Devāso hi śmā manave samanyavaḥ

(Sam. XXXIII. 94).

Śatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā mahāmsi

(Sam. XXXIII. 12).

Rakṣā mākīr no aghaśamsa īsata

(Sam. XXIX. 47).

15. The final 'a' of 'viśvadevyā' and 'soma' is lengthened, if the suffix 'vati' follows (III. 118).

E.g., *Aditiṣṭvā devī viśvadevyāvati*

(Sam. XI. 61).

Āśvāvatīm somāvatīm (Sam. XII. 81).

Counter illustration:

Pitrñām somavatām (Sam. XXIV. 18):

16. The 'a' of 'uṣa' is lengthened, if the word is preceded by 'mahabhiḥ', 'nakta', 'īm', 'ī', 'è', 'au', or 'na' (III. 119).

E.g., *Prathamānā mahobbiḥ uṣāsānaktā br̥hatī*
(Saṃ. XX. 40, 41).

Naktoṣāsā samanāsā (Saṃ. XII. 2).

Pratī dhenum ivāyatīm uṣāsam
(Saṃ. XV. 24).

Devī uṣāsā naktā (Saṃ. XXVIII. 14).

Yajate u pāke uṣāsānaktā
(Saṃ. XXIX. 31).

Divyena yonā uṣāsānaktā
(Saṃ. XXVII. 17).

Aśvāvatīr gomatīr na uṣāsaḥ
(Saṃ. XXXIV. 40).

17. The final 'a' of 'atra' is lengthened, if followed by 'pūṣṇaḥ', 'jahīmahaḥ', or 'te' (III. 121).

E.g., *Atrā pūṣṇaḥ* (Saṃ. XXV. 27).

Atrā jahīmośivū ye (Saṃ. XXXV. 10).

Atrā te rūpam uttamam
(Saṃ. XXIX. 18).

18. The final 'a' of 'yatra' is lengthened, if followed by 'naraḥ', 'saptaṛṣṇin', 'naḥ', 'ta āhuḥ', or 'niyudbhiḥ' (III. 122).

E.g., *Yatrā naraḥ sañca vica dravanti*
(Saṃ. XXIX. 48).

Yatrā saptaṛṣṇin paraḥ (Saṃ. XVII. 26).

Yatrā naś cakrā jarasam tanūnām
(Saṃ. XXV. 22).

Yatrā ta āhuḥ paramam janitram
(Saṃ. XXIX. 15).

Yatrā niyudbhiḥ sacase śivābhiḥ.

(Sam. XIII. 15).

19. The 'a' of 'sahi' is lengthened, if it is preceded by 'abhimāti', 'pṛtanāsu', 'sapatna', 'dhūh', 'viśva', 'samatsu', 'pṛtanā', or 'vrāta' (III. 123).

E.g., *Samvrṣṇyāny abhi mātiṣāhaḥ*

(Sam. XII. 113).

Jetūram agnim pṛtanāsu sāsahim

(Sam. XI. 76).

Simhy asi sapatknaśāhī (Sam. V. 10).

Uśrāvetan dhūrṣāhan (Sam. IV. 33).

Viśvāsāham avase nūtanāya

(Sam. VII. 36).

Yenā samatsu sāsahaḥ (Sam. XV. 40).

Pṛtanāśāhyāya ca (Sam. XVIII. 68).

Sato vīrū uravo vrātasāhāḥ

(Sam. XXIX. 46).

20. The 'a' of the root 'śasi' is lengthened, if it is preceded by 'uktha' (III. 124).

E.g., *Ukthaśasah > ukthaśāś caranti*

(Sam. XVII. 31).

21. The 'a' at the end of 'eva', 'accha', 'cakṛma', or 'atha' is lengthened, if followed by a consonant (III. 125).

E.g., *Evā no dūrve pra tanu* (Sam. XIII. 20).

Giriśācchā vadāmasi (Sam. XVI. 4).

Yad enāś cakamā vāyam (Sam. III. 45).

Athā mandasva jujuṣāṇah

(Sam. XXVI. 24).

22. The 'a' at the end of 'vidma' is lengthened except in 'Sautrāmaṇī-mantra' (III. 126).

E.g., *Vidmā te agne* (Sam. XII. 19).

Yānś ca vidma yān u ca na pra vidma

(Sam. XIX. 67).

23. The 'a' at the end of 'adha' is lengthened, if followed by any word beginning in a consonant, except 'yat', 'sma', 'gnā', and 'vāyu' (III. 127).

E.g., *Adhā sapatknān indrāgnī me*

(Sam. XVII. 64).

Adhā yathā nah pitarah

(Sam. XIX. 69).

Counter illustration:

Amutra bhūyād adha yad yamasya

(Sam. XXVII. 9).

Adha sma te vrajanam (Sam. XV. 62).

Rudro adha gnāh (Sam. XXXIII. 48).

Adha vāyam niyuttah (Sam. XXVII. 24).

24. In 'dvandva'-compound the final 'a' of the first word is lengthened, if it is not followed by 'vāyu' (III. 128).

E.g., *Mitrāvaruṇau* (Sam. II. 3).

Indrābrhaspatī (Sam. XXV. 6).

Counter illustration:

Indravāyubhyām tvā (Sam. VII. 8).

25. In the following places the elongation of 'a' is prescribed—'pibā somam', 'pibā sutasya', 'sthā mayo bhuvaḥ', 'māmahānaḥ', 'māmahantām', 'yā-mayanti', 'hi śmā te', 'vardhayā rayim', 'carā soma', 'śrotā grāvānaḥ', 'dharṣā mānuṣaḥ', 'pāthā divaḥ', 'yukṣvā hi', 'gamayātamah', 'siñcatā sutam', 'ukthā śastrāṇi', 'attā havīmṣi', 'ācyā jānu', 'kṣāmā reri-hat', 'kṣāmā bhindantaḥ', 'ruhemā svastaye', 'jana-yathā ca', 'dhārayāma', 'tarā mṛdhaḥ', 'bodhā me', 'vicṛtā bandham', 'avatā haveṣu', 'rakṣā tokam', 'yenā samatsu', 'vanemā te', 'ṛdhyāmā te', 'śikṣā sakhibhyaḥ', 'tatrā ratham', 'dīyā rathena', 'itā jayata', 'vardhayā tvam', 'prabravāmā gṛhṭasya', 'ājaganthā parasyāḥ', 'rarimā hi', 'plihākarnaḥ', 'śuñṭhākarnaḥ', 'cakrā jarasam', 'taratā sakhāyaḥ', 'sāsahvān', 'apāmārgaḥ', 'ubhayādataḥ', 'suṣṭarī-mā juṣāṇā', 'yajā devān', 'yenā pāvaka', 'āsvāyan-taḥ', 'svadayā sujihva', 'niṣadyā dadhiṣva', 'sada-tanā raṇiṣṭana', 'bharā cikitvān', 'cikitsāgaviṣṭau', 'avādadat', 'rakṣā ca', 'āyunak', 'ṣṛjā rarāṇaḥ', 'sādanyam' (III. 130).

E.g., *Pibā somam anuṣvadham madāya*

(Sam. VII. 38).

Pibā sutasyāndhaso madāya

(Sam. XXXIII. 70).

Āpo hi ṣṭhā mayo bhuvaḥ (Sam. XI. 50).

Agnāv adhi māmahānaḥ

(Sam. XVII. 55).

Tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām

(Sam. XXXIII. 42).

Priyā deveṣv ā yāmayanti

(Sam. XXV. 39).

Asti hi śmā te (Sam. III. 46).

Athā no vardhayā rayīm (Sam. III. 14).

Pra carū soma duryyān (Sam. IV. 37).

Śrotū grāvāṇo viduṣo na yajñam

(Sam. VI. 26).

Muñcāmi dharṣū mānuṣaḥ (Sam. VI. 8).

Pāthā divo vi mahasaḥ (Sam. VIII. 31).

Yukṣvā hi keśinā harī (Sam. VIII. 34).

Adharam gamayātamaḥ (Sam. VIII. 44).

Parīto śiñcatā sutam (Sam. XIX. 2).

Chandobhir ukthāśastrāṇi

(Sam. XIX. 28).

Attā havīmṣi prayatāni barhiṣi

(Sam. XIX. 59).

Ācyā jānu dakṣiṇataḥ (Sam. XIX. 62).

Kṣāmā rerihad vīrudhaḥ (Sam. XII. 6).

Kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇīḥ (Sam. XIX. 69).

Asravantīm āruhemā svastaye

(Sam. XXI. 6).

Āpo janayathā ca naḥ (Sam. XI. 52).

Dhārayā mayi prajāṃ (Sam. XI. 58).

Agne svantarā mṛdhaḥ (Sam. XI. 72).

Bodhā me asya (Sam. XII. 42).

Vicṛtā bandham etam (Sam. XII. 63).

Devā avatā haveṣu (Sam. XVII. 43).

Rakṣā tokam utatkmanā (Sam. XIII. 52).

Yenā samatsu sāsahāḥ (Sam. XV. 40).

Vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ (Sam. XV. 40).

Rdhyāmā ta ohaiḥ (Sam. XV. 44).

Śikṣā sakhibhyo haviṣi (Sam. XVII. 21).

Tatrā ratham upaśagmam sadema
(Sam. XXIX. 45).

Brhaspate pari dīyā rathena
(Sam. XVII. 36).

Pretā jayatā naraḥ (Sam. XVII. 46).

Tam agne vardhayā tvam
(Sam. XVII. 52).

Vayam nāma prabravāmā ghṛtasya
(Sam. XVII. 90).

Parāvata ā jagandhā parasyāḥ
(Sam. XVIII. 71).

Vayam te adya rarimā hi kāmam
(Sam. XVIII. 75).

Plīhākarnaḥ śunṭhākarnaḥ
(Sam. XXIV. 4).

Yatrā naś cakrā jarasam tanūnām
(Sam. XXV. 22).

Pra taratā sakhāyaḥ (Sam. XXXV. 10).

Sāsahvāmś cābhiyug vā ca
(Sam. XXXIX. 7).

Apāmāṅga tvam asmat (Sam. XXXV. 11).

Ye ke cobhayādataḥ (Sam. XXXI. 8).

Barhiḥ suṣṭarīmā juṣānū (Sam. XXIX. 4).

Yajū devām ṛtam brhat
(Sam. XXXIII. 3).

Ye nā pāvaka cakṣasā

(Saṃ. XXXIII. 32).

Aśvāyanto maghavam (Saṃ. XXVII. 36).

Samañjan svadayā sujihva

(Saṃ. XXIX. 26).

Barhiṣyā niṣadyā dadhiṣva

(Saṃ. XXVI. 23).

Sadatanā raṇiṣṭana (Saṃ. XXVI. 24).

Uttānāyām ava bharā cikitvān

(Saṃ. XXXIV. 14).

Pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau (Saṃ. XXXIV. 23).

Bhajemām dhiyam udavādadannah

(Saṃ. XXXIV. 36).

Rakṣū ca no adhi ca brūhi deva

(Saṃ. XXXIV. 27).

Yamena dattam trita enam āyunak

(Saṃ. XXIX. 13).

Vanaspate'va sṛjā rarāṇaḥ

(Saṃ. XXVII. 21).

Ṣādanyam vidatthyam

(Saṃ. XXXIV. 21).

26. In the word 'māmsapacanī' the 'a' which is joined with 's' is elided (IV. 41).

E.g., *Yan nīkṣaṇam māmspacanyāḥ*

(Saṃ. XXV. 36).

27. If 'a' is followed by a savarṇa, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination forms a long 'ā' (IV. 51, 52).

E.g., *Pra arpayatu > prārpayatu* (Saṃ. I. 1).

Tava ayam > tavāyam (Sam. XXVI. 23).

Upa amśunā > upāmśunā (Sam. XVII. 89).

28. The 'a', which follows 'e' or 'o', is absorbed by the previous vowel (IV. 61).

E.g., *Te avantu > te'vantu* (Sam. XIX. 57).

Te apsarasām > te'psarasām

(Sam. XXIV. 37).

Vedaḥ asi > vedo'si (Sam. II. 21).

Stupaḥ asi > stupo'si (Sam. II. 2).

29. The 'a', which follows 'gāhamānaḥ', 'śivaḥ', 'bharantaḥ', 'dveṣebhyaḥ', 'jambhayantaḥ', 'vāje', 'vājajitaḥ', 'madantaḥ', 'śoce', 'avase', 'suśuve', 'jyote', 'suparnaḥ', 'vīrudhaḥ', 'suvīraḥ', 'dhātave', 'sūnave', 'drūṇānaḥ', 'āśavaḥ', 'vahataḥ', 'saṅkrandaḥ', 'bāhavaḥ', 'ayudhyaḥ', and 'adruhaḥ', is absorbed by the previous vowel (IV. 64).

E.g., *Gāhamāno'dayaḥ* (Sam. XVII. 39).

Ahim sannaḥ śivo'tihi (Sam. III. 61).

Bharanto'śvāyeva tiṣṭhate (Sam. XI. 75).

Dveṣebhyo'nyakṛtebhyaḥ (Sam. V. 35).

Jambhayanto'him (Sam. IX. 16).

Vāje vāje'vata (Sam. IX. 18).

Vājajito'dhvanaḥ (Sam. IX. 13).

Madanto'gne mā te (Sam. XI. 75).

Bhadra śoce'pūpam (Sam. XII. 26).

Avase'gnim anvārabhāmahe

(Sam. IX. 26).

Suśuve'gre somam (Sam. IX. 23).

- Jyote'diti sarasvati* (Sam. VIII. 43).
Suparṇo'si garutmān (Sam. XII. 4).
Vīrudho'syai sandatta (Sam. XII. 94).
Suvīro'vīrahā (Sam. IV. 37).
Sarasvati tam iha dhātave'kaḥ
 (Sam. XXXVIII. 5).
Sūnave'gne sūpāyano bhava
 (Sam. III. 25).
Drūṇāno'stāsi (Sam. XIII. 9).
Āsavo'stam (Sam. XV. 41).
Vahato'pratidhr̥ṣṭaśavasam
 (Sam. VIII. 35).
San̄krandano'nimiṣaḥ (Sam. XVII. 33).
Bāhavo'nādhṛṣyā yathāsatha
 (Sam. XVII. 46).
Ayudhyo'smākam̐ senāḥ (Sam. XVII. 39).
Adruho'namīvā iṣo mahīḥ (Sam. XII. 50).

30. In the following places also 'a' is absorbed by the vowel immediately preceding it—'vo'ham', 'so'ham', 'so'smākam', 'te'bhigaro', 'vo'rvācī', 'upasthe'ntaḥ', 'tebhyo'karam', and except in 'Sau-trāmaṇīmantra', 'namo'stu' (IV. 65, 68, 69).

E.g., *Teṣām viśi priyāṇām vo'ham*
 (Sam. IX. 4).

- So'ham̐ vājam* (Sam. XVIII. 35).
Upastir astu so'smākam (Sam. XII. 101).
Amuṣṭup te'bhigaraḥ (Sam. VIII. 47).
Āvo'rvācī sumatiḥ (Sam. VIII. 4).

Śeṣe mātur yāthopasthe'ntar asyām
(Sam. XII. 39).

Ahantebhyo'karam namaḥ (Sam. XVI. 8).

Namo'stu sarpebhyaḥ (Sam. XIII. 6).

Counter illustration:

Namo astv adya (Sam. XIX. 68).

31. The first 'a' of 'anna', 'atra', 'avidyā', or 'asambhūti', when it follows the 'e' of 'ye', is absorbed by the previous vowel (IV. 66, 67).

E.g., *Ye'nneṣu* (Sam. XVI. 62).

Ye'tra stha purāṇā ye ca nūtanāḥ
(Sam. XII. 45).

Ye'vidyām upāsate (Sam. XXXX. 12).

Ye'sambhūtim upāsate (Sam. XXXX. 9).

Counter illustration:

Atho ye asya satvānaḥ (Sam. XVI. 8).

32. The 'a' which follows the 'e' or 'o' of 'viśve', 'agre', 'viśo', or 'rāyo' is absorbed by the immediately previous vowel except in 'agni' (IV. 70).

E.g., *Viśve'sungharmam* (Sam. VIII. 19).

Te agre'svam ayuñjan (Sam. IX. 7).

Athā na indra iddviśo'sapaktnāḥ
(Sam. VII. 25).

Tvaṣṭā sudatro vi dadhātu rāyonu
(Sam. VIII. 14).

Counter illustration:

Viśve adya marutaḥ (Sam. XVIII. 31).

Mayi gr̥hāmy agre agnim (Sam. XIII. 1).

Savā pāyur viśo asyāḥ (Sam. XIII. 11).

Asme rāyo amartya (Sam. XII. 109).

Note: 'Agni' is the name of a portion of the *Śuklayajurveda* beginning with 'yuñjānaḥ prathamam' and ending with 'svādvīn tvā'.

33. The 'a' of 'abhi' which follows 'sūryo', or 'agne', is absorbed by the immediately previous vowel (IV. 71).

E.g., *Śūryo'bhitāpsit* (Sam. XIII. 30).

Agne'bhyāvarttin (Sam. XII. 7).

Counter illustration:

Cakṣos sūryo ajāyata (Sam. XXXI. 12).

Agne acchā vadeha naḥ (Sam. IX. 28).

34. When 'a' follows the 'e' or 'o' of 'riṣo', 'yavase', 'purupriyo', 'annapate', or 'arṇave', it is absorbed by the immediately previous vowel (IV. 72):

E.g., *Mā suriṣo'mba* (Sam. XI. 68).

Prothad aśvo na yavase'viṣyan

(Sam. XV. 62).

Puru priyo'gne (Sam. XI. 72).

Annapate'nnasya (Sam. XI. 83).

Arṇave'ntarikṣe bhavāḥ (Sam. XVI. 55).

35. When 'a', which is itself followed by 'v' or 'y', follows 'e' or 'o', it is absorbed by the immediately previous vowel (IV. 73).

E.g., *Sahasrayojane'va dhanvāni*

(Sam. XVI. 54).

Tigmatejo'yasmayam (Sam. XII. 63).

36. In the following instances the letter 'a' is absorbed by its previous vowel—'gave', 'me', 'manaso', 'vājayantah', 'somyāsaḥ', 'pāśino', 'vidāno', 'anṛte', 'mūjavato', 'vṛṣṇe', 'apāko', 'dīdivo', 'trayastrimśe', 'brahmaṇe', 'yako', 'ratho', 'viśvato', 'pādo', and 'vasanto' (IV. 74).

E.g., *Gave'svāya* (Sam. III. 59).

Viśo me'ngāni (Sam. XX. 8).

Manaso'si vilāyakaḥ (Sam. XX. 34).

Vājayanto'syāma (Sam. XVIII. 74).

Somyāso'gniṣv āttāḥ (Sam. XIX. 58).

Pāśino'ti dhanveva (Sam. XX. 53).

Sam vidāno'nu dyāvāprthivī

(Sam. XIX. 54).

Āsraddhām anṛte'dadhāt (Sam. XIX. 77).

Mūjavato'ti hi (Sam. III. 61).

Indrāya vṛṣṇe'pākaḥ (Sam. XX. 44).

Apāko'ciṣṭur yaśase (Sam. XX. 44).

Sa naḥ pāvaka dīdivo'gne (Sam. XVII. 9).

Trayastrimśe'mṛtāḥ (Sam. XXI. 28).

Brahmaṇe'smai kṣatrāya (Sam. VII. 21).

Yako⁴'sakau śakuntakaḥ

(Sam. XXIII. 23).

Dūdabho ratho'smān (Sam. III. 36).

Viśvato'dabdhāsaḥ (Sam. XXV. 14).

Pādo'sya viśvā bhūtāni (Sam. XXXI. 3).

Vasanto'syāsīt (Sam. XXXI. 14).

37. In the following instances, the first 'a' of each final word, is absorbed by the immediately previous vowel—'avo'stu', 'agne gr̥hapate abhi', 'satvāno'ham', 'no'jasrayā', 'vimāno'jasraḥ', 'suteśvinā', 'namo'gnaye', 'te'gram', 'te'gre vr̥kṣasya', 'prathamo'ntaḥ', and 'te'nyena', (IV. 75).

E.g., *Mahi trīṇām avo'stu* (Sam. III. 31).

Agne gr̥hapate'bhi dyumnam

(Sam. III. 39).

Asya satvāno'ham (Sam. XVI. 8).

Puro no'jasrayā sarmyā yaviṣṭhya

(Sam. XVII. 76).

Vimāno'jasro gharṃ haviḥ

(Sam. XVIII. 66).

Tanūpā bhiṣajā sute'svinobhā

(Sam. XX. 56).

* * * *

Mātā ca te pitā ca te'gram

(Sam. XXIII. 24).

Te'gre vr̥kṣasya krīdataḥ

(Sam. XXIII. 25).

Sabhūḥ svayambhūḥ prathamo'ntaḥ

(Sam. XXIII. 63).

Mahimā te'nyena (Sam. XXIII. 15).

38. If 'a' follows 'paṇayo', 'jahīmo', or 'am-bike', it is absorbed by the immediately previous vowel (IV. 76).

E.g., *Apeto yantu paṇayo'sumnāḥ*

(Sam. XXXV. 1).

Atrā jahīmo'sivā ye (Sam. XXXV. 10).

Aṃbe aṃbike'ṃbālike (Sam. XXIII, 18).

39. In the following instances, 'a' is absorbed by the vowel immediately preceding it (IV. 77).

E.g., *No numo'dugdhā iva* (Sam. XXVII. 35).

Pra cetaso'svān (Sam. XXIX. 50).

Naro'smākam (Sam. XXIX. 57).

Vṛṣapāṇayo'svāḥ (Sam. XXIX. 44).

Pra diśo'nu (Sam. XXXII. 4).

Udīte'nāgāḥ (Sam. XXXIII. 20).

Andhāso'rcāḥ (Sam. XXXIII. 23).

Panasya te'ddhā (Sam. XXXIII. 39).

Yajñiyebyho'mṛtatvam

(Sam. XXXII. 54).

Vipaścito'bhi stomaiḥ (Sam. XXXIII. 81).

Jano'namīvaḥ (Sam. XXXIII. 86).

Āyavo'nuṣṭuvanti (Sam. XXXIII. 97).

Anu no'dyānumatiḥ (Sam. XXXIV. 9).

Deśe'bhavat (Sam. XXXIV. 11).

Vayune'janiṣṭa (Sam. XXXIV. 14).

Vidmanāpaso'jāyanta (Sam. XXXIV. 12).

Pūrvyāso'reṇavaḥ (Sam. XXXIV. 27).

No'smā bhavatu (Sam. XXIX. 49).

No'ditiḥ (Sam. XXIX. 49).

No'hirbudhnyah (Sam. XXXIV. 53).

40. The 'a' preceded by 'brāhmaṇo' is absorbed by the vowel immediately preceding it (IV. 78).

E.g., *Brāhmaṇo'sya mukham* (Sam. XXXI. 11).

2. Ā.

1. The word 'viśvā' is considered to be 'ūṣmānta', if it is followed by 'paridviṣa', 'tvam', 'yada jayo', 'virājati', 'anirāḥ', 'avivṛdhan', 'pariṣṭhāḥ', 'sukṣitayaḥ', 'āśāḥ', 'oṣadhīḥ', 'ābhāhi', 'amīvāḥ', 'hi māyāḥ', 'te', or 'asi' (IV. 27).

E.g., *Yena viśvāḥ pari dviṣaḥ* (Sam. IV. 29).

Viśvās tvam prajā upāvarohantu

(Sam. VI. 26).

Viśvā yad ajayasprdhah (Sam. XIX. 71).

Dhiyo viśvā virājati (Sam. XX. 86).

Vyasyan viśvā anirāḥ (Sam. XI. 47).

Indram viśvā avivṛdhan (Sam. XII. 56).

Ati viśvāḥ pari ṣṭhāḥ (Sam. XII. 84).

Viśvāḥ sukṣitayaḥ prthak (Sam. XII. 116).

Viśvā āśāḥ pra muñcan

(Sam. XXVII. 7).

Prṣṭo viśvā oṣadhī ā viveśa

(Sam. XVIII. 66).

Viśvā ābhāhi pra diśaś catasrah

(Sam. XXVII. 1).

*Viśvā amīvāḥ; viśvā hi māyāḥ, viśvās te
sprdhah śuathayantu*

Abhi viśvā asi sprdhah

(Sam. XXXIII. 66).

2. The word 'prthivyā' is considered to be 'svarānta', if it is followed by 'sambhavaḥ', 'śukraḥ', 'manthī', 'prthivīm', or 'paro devebhiḥ' (IV. 28).

E.g., *Prthivīmāvisata prthivyā sambhava*

(Sam. IV. 13).

Sañjagmāno divā prthivyā śukraḥ

(Sam. VII. 13).

*Sañjagmāno divā prthivyā manthī,
prthivyā prthivīm* (Sam. XV. 6).

Prthivyā paro devebhiḥ

(Sam. XVII. 29).

3. The word 'imā' is considered to be 'svarānta', if it is followed by 'ca viśvā', 'vo', 'brahma', 'viśvā', 'harī', 'yuktā', 'te', 'śaphānām', 'jajāna', or 'nu kam' (IV. 29).

E.g., *Imā ca viśvā bhuvanāni* (Sam. IX. 24).

Imā vo havyā cakrmā juṣadhvam

(Sam. XIX. 55)..

Imā brahma pīpihi (Sam. XIV. 2).

Ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvat

(Sam. XVII. 17).

Imā harī vahatas tā no accha

(Sam. XXXIII. 78).

Savanākṛte mā yuktā grāvāṇaḥ

(Sam. XXXIV. 19).

Imā te vājinn avamārjanāni

(Sam. XXIX. 16).

Imā śaphānām sanituḥ

(Sam. XXIX. 16).

Na taṁ vvidātha ya imā jajāna

(Sam. XVII. 31).

Imā nu kam bhuvanā sīṣadhāma

(Sam. XXV. 46).

4. The words 'havemā' and 'utemā' are also considered to be svarāntas (IV. 30).

E.g., *Śrutam me mitrāvaruṇā havemā*

(Sam. XXI. 9).

Viśvakarmann utemā (Sam. XVII. 21).

5. The word 'tā' is considered to be 'sva-rānta', if it is followed by 'viṣṇo', 'te', 'babhūva', 'nāsatyā', 'bhiṣajā', 'na āvoḍham', 'yā devā', 'haviṣo', 'no mṛdāto', 'no accha', or 'vi muñca' (IV. 31).

E.g., *Tā viṣṇo pāhi* (Sam. II. 6).

Sarvā tā te brahmaṇā sūdayāmi

(Sam. XXV. 40).

Pari tā babhūva (Sam. X. 20).

Tā nāsatyā supeśasā (Sam. XX. 74).

Tā bhiṣajā su karmmaṇā (Sam. XX. 75).

Tā na āvoḍham aśvinā (Sam. XX. 83).

Yā devā deva dānāni (Sam. XXI. 61).

Sruceva tā haviṣo adhvareṣu

(Sam. XXV. 40).

Tā no mṛdā ta idṛśe (Sam. XXXIII. 61).

Imā harī vahatas tā no accha

(Sam. XXXIII. 78).

Niyudbhir vāyav iha tā vi muñca

(Sam. XXVII. 33).

6. 'Tā', and 'tā', if they occur as parts of a word, are considered to be svarāntas (IV. 32).

E.g., *Tā tā piṇḍānām pra juhomy agnau*

(Sam. XXV. 42).

7. The word 'dhiṣṇyā' in

'*Dhiṣṇyā varivo vidam*', (Sam. XX. 83).

and '*Śruvutam dhiṣṇyā yuvam*'

(Sam. XXV. 17).

is considered to be a svarānta (IV. 33).

8. In the word 'jāyāspatya' the second 'ā', will be elided as well as the 'y' immediately preceding it (IV. 40).

E.g., *Saṇ jāspatyam su yamam ā kṛṇuṣva*

(Sam. XXXIII. 12).

9. The long 'ā' will change into a short one, if followed by 'ṛ' (IV. 49).

E.g., *Viśvakarmā ṛṣiḥ > viśvakarma ṛṣiḥ*

(Sam. XIII. 58).

Svāhā ṛṣabham > svāhaṛṣabham indrāya

(Sam. XXI. 40).

10. If 'ā' is followed by a 'savarna', whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination will form a long 'ā' (IV. 51, 52).

E.g., *Nāsatyā aśvāvat* > *nāsatyāśvāvat*

(Sam. XX. 81).

11. The words 'kā', 'dhruvā', 'sadanā', 'hotārā', 'jyā', 'svadhā', and 'pratimā' will not undergo any change, if they are followed by 'īm', 'asadan', 'akarma', 'ūrdhvam', 'iyam', 'avastāt' and 'asti' respectively (IV. 86).

E.g., *Kā īm are* (Sam. XXIII. 55).

Dhruvā asadan (Sam. II. 6).

Su gāro devāḥ sadanā akarma

(Sam. VIII. 18).

Daivyā hotārā ūrdhvam

(Sam. XXVII. 18).

Jyā iyam (Sam. XXIX. 40).

Svadhā avastāt (Sam. XXXIII. 74).

Pratimā asti (Sam. XXXII. 3).

3. Ā3.

1. A word which ends in 'pluta' will retain its own form, if it is followed by 'iti' (IV. 91).

E.g., *Viveśā' iti* (Sam. XXIII. 49).

Note: This rule should be applied to 'ī3', 'ū3', 'ī3', 'ī3', 'e3', 'o3', 'ai3' and 'au3' also.

4. I.

1. The 'i' of the words 'raśmi', 'matī', 'śumati', 'ghṛṇi', 'abhi', 'adhi', 'śakti', and 'śaci' is lengthened, if the letter 'va' follows (III. 98).

E.g., *Raśmīvatīm bhāsvatīm* (Sam. XV. 63).

Pra devāya matīvide (Sam. XXII. 12).

Suṣṭutīm sumatīvr̥dhaḥ (Sam. XXII. 12).

Uṣtro ghr̥nīvān (Sam. XXIV. 39).

Abhīvar̥ttaḥ sam̐viśo varco dvāvimśaḥ
(Sam. XIV. 23).

Adhīvāsam yā hiranyāny asmai
(Sam. XXV. 39).

Śaktīvanto gabhīrāḥ (Sam. XXIX. 46).

2. The 'i' of 'abhi' is not lengthened, if it is followed by 'vikhyeṣam', 'vīra', 'viśva', 'vatsa', 'vr̥tra', or 'vājayanta' (III. 100).

E.g., *Svar abhi vikhyeṣam* (Sam. I. 11).

Abhi vīro'bhi satvā sahojāḥ
(Sam. XVII. 37).

Imām vācam abhi viśve gr̥nantaḥ
(Sam. II. 18).

Abhi vatsan na svasareṣu dhenavaḥ
(Sam. XXVI. 11).

Abhi vr̥tram vardhamānam piyārum
(Sam. XVIII. 69).

Aśyāma vājam abhi vājayantaḥ
(Sam. XVIII. 74).

3. Except in instances of 'avagraha', the 'i' of the preposition 'ni' is lengthened, if it is followed by 'vāra' or 'hāra' (III. 106).

E.g., *Nivārās ca me* (Sam. XVIII. 12).

Nihāreṇa prāvṛtā (Sam. XVII. 31).

4. The 'i' of 'rathi' is lengthened, if it is followed by 'ta' or 'na' (III. 112).

E.g., *Rathitamam rathinām* (Sam. XII. 56).

5. The 'i' of 'arāti' is lengthened, if it is followed by 'ya' (III. 113).

E.g., *Arātīyato hantū* (Sam. XII. 5).

6. The 'i' at the end of 'tviṣi' and 'dhraji' is lengthened, if followed by 'ma' (III. 117).

E.g., *Śaspiñjarāya tviṣimate* (Sam. XVI. 17).

Cittam vāta iva dhrajimān

(Sam. XXIX. 22).

7. In dvandva-compounds the 'i' at the end of the first word, is lengthened, if it is not followed by 'vāyu' (III. 128).

E.g., *Agnīṣomau* (Sam. II. 15).

8. According to some, the letter 'i' of 'hari' should be lengthened, if it is followed by 'śaya' (III. 129).

E.g., *Hari śayā* > *harī śayā* (Sam. V. 8).

Counter illustration:

Yā te agne hari śayā (Sam. V. 8).

9. In the following instances, the short 'i' will change into a long one—'śamiṣva', 'aśītama', 'rīriṣaḥ', 'rīriṣata', 'śrudhī havam', 'parī vāpaḥ', 'śrunudhī girah', 'carṣaṇīśahām', 'carṣaṇīdhṛtaḥ',

'purī tatā', 'nī kāsāḥ', 'ṛtīṣaham, 'abhī su', 'yadi saramā' (III. 130).

E.g., *Haviḥ śamīṣva* (Sam. I. 15).

Agne'dabdhāyo'sītama (Sam. II. 20).

Mā no aśveṣu rīriṣaḥ (Sam. XVI. 16).

Mā no madhyā rīriṣatāyuh

(Sam. XXV. 22).

Imam me varuṇa śrudhī havam

(Sam. XXI. 1).

Parī vāpaḥ payo dadhi (Sam. XIX. 21).

Pāhi śrudhī girah (Sam. XIII. 52).

Carṣaṇīśahām vettv ājyasya

(Sam. XXVIII. 1).

Omāśaś carṣaṇīdhṛtaḥ (Sam. VII. 33).

Antarikṣam purītatā (Sam. XXV. 8).

Babhru nī kāsāḥ (Sam. XXIV. 18).

Tam co dasmam ṛtīṣaham

(Sam. XXVI. 11).

Abhīṣuṇaḥ sakhīnām (Sam. XXXVI. 6).

Vidadyadī saramā (Sam. XXXIII. 59).

10. The 'i' of 'nī', which is in the neuter form, should be elided (III. 139).

E.g., *Emani sādayāmi* > *eman sādayāmi*

(Sam. XIII. 53).

Bhasmani sādayāmi > *bhasman sādayāmi*

(Sam. XIII. 53).

Note: This rule applies even to forms other than those of the neuter gender.

E.g., *Aśmani ūrjam > aśmann ūrjam*

(Sam. XVII. 1).

11 But the 'i' of 'saptamī' and vocative case terminations, is not liable to elision (III. 140).

E.g., *Apān tvā sadhiṣi apān tvā pāthasi*

(Sam. XIII. 53).

He prthivi (Sam. I. 25).

12. The augment 'iti' comes between the 'pragrhya' and its repetition (carcā) in the pada text (IV. 18).

E.g., *Dve iti dve* (Sam. XVII. 91).

Śirṣe iti śirṣe (Sam. XVII. 91).

Asme ity asme (Sam. IV. 22).

Tve iti tve (Sam. IV. 22).

13. In the Samhitā text, if the 'riphita' is repeated, an augment of 'iti' intervenes between two words (IV. 19).

E.g., *Punar iti punaḥ* (Sam. IV. 15).

Svar iti svah (Sam. III. 37).

14. But 'iti' should not be applied to the word 'su', or to a 'padāvasāna' (IV. 22).

15. The 'i' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

E.g., *Tri ambakam > tryambakam*

(Sam. III. 58).

16. If 'ī' is followed by a savarṇa, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination will form a long 'ī' (IV. 51, 52).

E.g., *Sruci iva* > *strucīva ghr̥tam*

(Sam. XX. 79).

Hi im > *vi him iddhah* (Sam. XII. 6).

17. The 'i' together with a preceding 'a' will change into 'e' (IV. 53).

E.g., *Varuṇa iha* > *varuṇeha* (Sam. XVIII. 49).

Ā idam > *edam* (Sam. IV. 1).

5 Ī.

1. The 'ī' will change into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

E.g., *Vājī arvan* > *vājy arvan* (Sam. XI. 44).

2. If 'ī' is followed by a savarṇa, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination is a long 'ī' (IV. 51, 52).

3. The 'ī' together with a preceding 'a' will change into 'e' (IV. 53).

4. The words 'ūtī' and 'pr̥thivī' do not undergo any change, if they are followed by 'aśyāma' and 'uta' respectively (IV. 86).

E.g., *Ūtī aśyāma rayim* (Sam. XVIII. 74).

Pr̥thivī uta dyauh (Sam. XXXIII. 42).

5. The pragr̥hya 'ī' retains its own form even if it is followed by a vowel (IV. 88).

E.g., *Indrāgnī āgatam* (Sam. VII. 31).

.6. But the 'ī' of the word 'rodasī', which is a 'pragrhya', does not retain its own form, if the word 'ime' follows (IV. 88).

E.g., *Rāye nu yañ jajñatū rodasīme*
(Sam. XXVII. 24).

Counter illustration:

Ā paprivān rodasī antarikṣam
(Sam. XVII. 59).

7. The 'ī' of the word 'viśpatī' will remain unchanged, if it is followed by 'iva', which, in its turn, is followed by 'iti' (IV. 89).

E.g., *Viśpatī iveti viśpatī iva*
(Sam. XXXIII. 44).

Counter illustration:

Ā viśpatīva bīriṭe (Sam. XXXIII. 44).

6. Ī3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under Ī3.

7. U.

1. The final 'u' of the word 'puru' is lengthened, if the letter 'va' follows (III. 98).

E.g., *Imā ut tvā purūvaso* (Sam. XXXIII. 81).

2. The short 'u' at the end of the words 'moṣu' and 'ātu' changes into a long one, if followed by the letter 'na' (III. 108).

E.g., *Moṣūṇa indrātra pṛtsu devaiḥ*

(Sam. III. 46).

Ātūna indra vṛtrahan (Sam. XXXIII. 65).

3. The aprkta 'u' is lengthened, if it is followed by 'su' (III. 111).

E.g., *U su naḥ > ūṣunaḥ* (Sam. XI. 42).

4. The short 'u' of the words 'ṛju' and 'śatru' is lengthened, if followed by the letter 'ya'. In the word 'pūruṣa' the elongation is prescribed, if it comes at the end (III. 113, 120).

E.g., *Devānām bhadrā sumatir ṛjūyatām*

(Sam. XXV. 15).

Śatrūyato hantā (Sam. XII. 5).

Na sa riṣyāti pūruṣaḥ (Sam. XII. 91).

Counter illustration:

Puruṣa eva (Sam. XXXI. 2).

5. In the following instances the short 'u' changes into a long one—'nu raṇe', 'anu kāśena', 'mithu kaḥ' (III. 130).

E.g., *Tūrvannayāmannetaśasya nū raṇe*

(Sam. XVII. 10).

Antaram anūkāśena (Sam. XXV. 2).

Gātrāṇy asinā mithū kaḥ (Sam. XXV. 43).

6. 'U' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

E.g., *Dru annaḥ > drvannaḥ* (Sam. XI. 70).

Vīḍu āṅgaḥ > sthīro bhava vīḍva⁴ṅgaḥ
(Sam. XI. 44).

7. If the letter 'u' is followed by a savarna, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination forms a long 'ū' (IV. 51, 52).

E.g., *Anu ut > anūjjeṣam* (Sam. II. 3).

8. 'U' with a preceding 'a', changes into 'o' (IV. 54).

E.g., *Tvā uttarataḥ mitrāvaruṇau > tvottarataḥ*
(Sam. II. 3).

9. If the 'u' of the root 'vāhi' follows 'a', the combination forms 'au' (IV. 58).

10. The pragrahya 'u' is not liable to any change, when followed by a vowel (IV. 87).

11. The aprkta 'u' is not liable to any change, if followed by letters other than the mutes (IV. 90).

E.g., *Na vā u etat* (Sam. XXIII. 16).

Eta vā u añjī (Sam. XVII. 97).

Counter illustration:

Yojānv i⁴ndra (Sam. III. 51).

Kim vā vapanam mahat (Sam. XXIII. 9).

12. The aprkta 'u' changes into a long one with anunāsika, if it is followed by 'iti' (IV. 93).

E.g., *Ūm iti* (Sam. VIII. 41).

Counter illustration:

Na vā u etat (Sam. XXV. 44).

13. The aprkta 'u' which is preceded by 'iti' will change into a long 'ū' with anunāsika only in 'carccā' (IV. 94).

E.g., *Ut ūm ity ūm, tyam, jātavedasam iti jātavedasam* (Sam. VIII. 41).

Counter illustration:

U iti (Sam. I. 28).

8. Ū.

1. The vowel 'ū' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

2. If 'ū' is followed by a savarṇa, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination forms a long 'ū' (IV. 51, 52).

3. 'U' with a preceding 'a' changes into 'o' (IV. 54).

E.g., *Tvā ūrje > tvorje* (Sam. I. 1).

4. If the 'ū' of the root 'vāhi' follows 'a', both the 'a' and 'ū' form 'au' (IV. 58).

E.g., *Tūryya ūhī > turyyauhī*

(Sam. XVIII. 26).

Paṣṭha ūhī > paṣṭhauhī

(Sam. XVIII. 27).

5. The pragrhya 'ū' does not undergo any change, if it is followed by a vowel (IV. 87).

9. Ū3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under Ā3.

10. R.

1. In the Samhitā and pada texts, the sound 'ṛ' comes between a 'repha' and the following consonant, if the latter is an 'ūṣmān' letter, which, in its turn, is followed by a vowel. This rule is applicable to one or many words (IV. 17).

E.g., *Arśasa upacitāmasi* (Sam. XII. 97).

Ver hotram (Sam. II. 9).

Savitur havāmahe (Sam. XXII. 11).

Counter illustration:

Pārśvataḥ (Sam. XXI. 43).

Divo varṣman (Sam. XXVIII. 1).

Mṛdam vasvaih (Sam. XXV. 1).

Āsrubhir hrādunīḥ (Sam. XXV. 9).

2. The letter 'ṛ' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

3. If the letter 'ṛ' is followed by a savarṇa, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination forms a long 'ṛ' (IV. 51, 52).

4. The letter 'ṛ', if it is preceded by an 'apṛkta'-word, changes into 'ār' (IV. 59).

E.g., *Ā ṛtyai > ārttyai pari vittam*

(Sam. XXX. 9).

5. The sound of the 'repha' is comprised in the letter 'ṛ'. But as it is blended with 'ṛ', it cannot be recognised distinctly, while it is being pronounced (IV. 146).

E.g., *Kṛttivāsāḥ* (Sam. III. 61).

Ṛddhiḥ (Sam. XVIII. 11).

12. R.

1. The letter 'r' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

2. If the letter 'r' is followed by a savarṇa, whether the latter is joined with an anunāsika or not, the combination forms a long 'r' (IV. 51, 52).

12. R3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under Ā3.

13. L.

1. In the Saṃhitā and pada texts, the sound 'l' comes between a 'l' and the following consonant, if the latter is an 'ūṣmān' letter, which, in its turn is followed by a vowel. This rule is applicable to one or many words (IV. 17).

E.g., *Satavalśāḥ* (Sam. V. 43).

Upavalhāmasi (Sam. XXIII. 51).

2. The letter 'l' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

3. The letter 'l', if it is preceded by an 'apṛkta'-word, changes into 'āl' (IV. 60).

E.g., *Ā lkārah* > *ālkārah*.

4. The sound of 'l' is comprised in the letter 'l'. But as it is blended with 'l', it cannot be recog-

nised distinctly while it is being pronounced (IV. 146).

E.g., *Klptih* (Sam. XVIII. 11).

14. L.

1. The letter 'l' changes into a semi-vowel, followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

2. The letter 'l', if it is preceded by an 'apṛkta'-word, changes into 'āl' (IV. 60).

15. L3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under Ā3.

16. E.

1. The vowel 'e' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

2. 'E' changes into 'ay', if followed by a vowel (IV. 47).

E.g., *Idē ā ihi > iḍay ehi > iḍa ehi*

(Sam. III. 27).

3 In the following instances 'e' and 'a' together form one 'e'—'samudrasya eman', 'tvā eman', 'tvā odman' (IV. 55).

E.g., *Samudrasya eman* (Sam. XIII. 17).

Apāntv eman (Sam. XIII. 53).

Apāntv odman (Sam. XIII. 53).

4. If 'e' follows 'a', both of them form 'ai' (IV. 57).

E.g., *Svāhā ekaśatāya* > *svāhaikaśatāya*
(Sam. XXII. '34).

5. The anudātta vowel 'e' of the letter 'te', retains its own form, if followed by an anudātta (IV. 83).

E.g., *Yā te agne* (Sam. V. 8).

Counter illustration:

Te'psarasām (Sam. XXIV. 37).

6. In the following instances in the Ṛk and Yajus, the vowel 'e' followed by 'a' is not liable to any change—'apāgne', 'imā me', 'ghāse', 'dūre', 'yajñe', 'sadhasthe', 'indre' (IV. 84).

E.g., *Apāgne agnim* (Sam. I. 17).

Imā me agna iṣṭakāḥ (Sam. XVII. 2).

Ghāse ajrāṇām (Sam. XXI. 44).

Dūre amitraś ca gaṇaḥ (Sam. XVII. 83).

Yajñe asmin (Sam. XVII. 84).

Prthivyāḥ sadhsthe aṅgirasvat

(Sam. XI. 61).

Su devam indre aśvinā (Sam. XXI. 48).

7. The pragṛhya 'e' is not liable to any change even, if it is followed by a vowel (IV. 87).

E.g., *Svarthe anyānyā* (Sam. XXXIII. 5).

17. E3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under A3.

18. O.

1. The vowel 'o' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarna vowel (IV. 46).

2. 'O' will change into 'av', if followed by a vowel (IV. 47).

E.g., *Kṛṣāno ete > kṛśānav ete* (Sam. IV. 27).

3. According to some, if the 'o' of 'oja' follows 'a', the combination results in 'o' (IV. 56).

E.g., *-Saha ojaḥ > sahojaḥ* (Sam. XXXVI. 1).

Counter illustration:

Sahaujaḥ.

4. The vowel 'a' and the following 'o' together form 'au' (IV. 57).

E.g., *Indra ojiṣṭha > indraujiṣṭha*
(Sam. VIII. 39).

5. The vowel 'o' of the word 'juṣāṇo' retains its own form, if followed by 'a' (except the 'a' of 'adhva') (IV. 82).

E.g., *Juṣāṇo aptu rājyasya vettu svāhā*
(Sam. V. 35).

Counter illustration:

Juṣāṇo'dhvājyasya vettu svāhā.

Note: The counter-illustration belongs to the text of a different school.

6. In the following instances in the R̥k and Yajus, the vowel 'o', if followed by 'a', is not liable to any change.—'heḍo', 'āpo', 'guvo', 'dhīrāso', 'devāso', 'uro', 'rakṣāṇo', 'mo', 'vaiśvānaro', 'vṛṣabho', 'vaco', 'prāṇo', 'udāno', 'vṛṣṇo', 'daśamāsyō', 'andho', 'āvitto', 'ariṣṭo arjunah', 'pratyāśrāvo', 'sviṣṭo', 'praṇī to', 'tebhyo namo astu', 'no adya', 'so adhvarāya', 'hiraṇyāparṇo', 'dvāro', 'devo', 'abdo', 'rathibhyo', 'mahadbhyo', 'saṃsado' (IV. 84).

E.g., *Devasya heḍo ava yāsisīṣṭhāḥ*

(Sam. XXI. 3).

Āpo asmān (Sam. IV. 2).

Devīr āpo agre guvo agre puvaḥ

(Sam. I. 12).

Tām u dhīrāso anu (Sam. I. 28).

Yatra devāso ajuṣanta (Sam. IV. 1).

Dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣa

(Sam. IV. 7).

Rakṣāṇo aprayucchan (Sam. IV. 14).

Mo ahantava vīram (Sam. IV. 23).

Vaiśvānaro adabdhah (Sam. IV. 15).

Astabhnād dyām vṛṣabho antarikṣam

(Sam. IV. 30).

Ugram vaco apāvadhīt (Sam. V. 8).

Prāṇo aṅge aṅge (Sam. VI. 20).

Udāno aṅge aṅge nidhītaḥ

(Sam. VI. 20).

Vṛṣṇo aṃsubhyām (Sam. VII. 1).

- Daśamāsyō asrat* (Sam. VIII. 28).
Andho acchetaḥ (Sam. VIII. 54).
Āvitto agniḥ (Sam. X. 9).
Ariṣṭo arjunah (Sam. X. 21).
Pratyāśrāvo anurūpaḥ (Sam. XIX. 24).
Sviṣṭo agnir agninā (Sam. XXI. 58).
Pra nīto agnēr agninā (Sam. XIX. 17).
Tebhyo namo astu (Sam. XV. 15).
Sammitāso no adya (Sam. XVII. 84).
So adhvarāya pari nīyate
 (Sam. XXXIII. 75).
Hiraṇyaparnaśvibhyām
 (Sam. XXI. 56).
Devīr dvāro aśvinā (Sam. XXI. 49).
Devo agniḥ sviṣṭakṛt (Sam. XXI. 58).
Sajūrabdo'yavobhiḥ (Sam. XII. 74).
Namo rathibhyo arathebhyah
 (Sam. XVI. 26).
Mahadbhyo arbhakebhyah
 (Sam. XVI. 26).
Samsado aṣṭamī (Sam. XXVI. 1).

7. The vowel 'o' of the word 'cchando' retains its own form, if followed by 'aṅkupam', 'aṅkaṅkam' or 'asrīvayaḥ' (IV. 85).

E.g., *Kāvyaṃ cchando aṅkupam*
 (Sam. XV. 4).

Tandram cchando aṅkāṅkam
 (Sam. XV. 5).

Pratimā cchando asrīvayaś chandaḥ

(Sam. XIV. 18).

Counter illustration:

Samstupchando'nuṣṭupchandaḥ

(Sam. XV. 5).

8. The pragrhya 'o' is not liable to any change even if it is followed by a vowel (IV. 87).

9. The final 'o' of a word retains its own form, if followed by 'iti' (IV. 92).

E.g., *Citrabhāno iti* (Sam. XX. 87).

Kṛśāno iti (Sam. IV. 27).

Counter illustration:

Kṛśānav ete vaḥ (Sam. IV. 27).

19. O3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under A3.

20. Ai.

1. The diphthong 'ai' changes into a semi-vowel, if followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

2. The diphthong 'ai' changes into 'āy', if followed by a vowel (IV. 47).

E.g., *Sarasvatyai agrajihvam > sarasvatyāy
agrajihvam > sarasvatyā agrajihvam*

(Sam. XXV. 1).

3. If the diphthong 'ai' follows 'a', they together form 'ai' (IV. 57).

E.g., *Indrāya aindram* > *indrāyaindram*
(Sam. XIX. 18).

21. Ā3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under Ā3.

22. Au.

1. The diphthong 'au' changes into a semi-vowel, if it is followed by an asavarṇa vowel (IV. 46).

2. The diphthong 'au' changes into 'āv', if followed by a vowel (IV. 47).

E.g., *Hiranyarūpau uṣasaḥ* > *hiranyarūpāv*
uṣasaḥ > *hiranyarūpā uṣasaḥ*
(Sam. X. 16).

3. If 'au' follows 'a', the combination forms 'au' (IV. 57).

E.g., *Pra aukṣan* > *praukṣan* (Sam. XXXI. 9).

23. Au3.

Note: See rule IV. 91, under Ā3.

24. K.

1. The augment 'k' comes between a 'n' and its following 's' (IV. 15).

E.g., *Prān somah* > *Prāṅksomah* (Sam. XIX. 3).

Pratyañ somah > *pratyāṅksomo ati dru-*
taḥ (Sam. XIX. 3).

2. According to preceptor Dālbhya the above augmentation does not take place (IV. 16).

E.g., *Prāṇ somah* > *prāṇ somah*

(Sam. XIX. 3).

Pratyāṇ somah > *pratyāṇ somah*

(Sam. XIX. 3).

3. The first member of every consonant-group is doubled, if it is preceded by a vowel (IV. 100).

E.g., *Samyak sravanti* > *samyakksravanti*.

(Sam. XIII. 38).

Anuṣṭup śārādī > *anuṣṭupśārādī*

(Sam. XIII. 57).

Aśśvāḥ (Sam. XIV. 19).

Counter illustration:

Śrudhiśśrutkarna (Sam. XXXIII. 15).

Note: This rule is applicable to all consonants, except 'r' and 'h'.

4. The mute which is preceded by 'ś', 'ṣ', 's', 'h', 'y', 'r', 'l', or 'v' is doubled (IV. 102).

E.g., *Prśnnih* (Sam. XXIV. 4).

Aśmmā (Sam. XVIII. 13).

Pārṣṇyā (Sam. XXV. 40).

Sasnnitamam (Sam. I. 8).

Rāṣṭradā rāṣṭtram (Sam. X. 2).

Hastte (Sam. XI. 11).

Śalmmaliḥ (Sam. XXIII. 13).

Ulbbam (Sam. X. 8).

Dadhikkrāvinṇaḥ (Sam. XXIII. 32).

Note: This rule is applicable to all the mutes. In the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, there is no combination of 'y' with a following mute.

5.- The mute which is preceded either by 'jihvāmūliya' or 'upadhmāniya' is doubled (IV. 103).

E.g., *Mayi vah kāmādhāraṇam*

(Sam. III. 27).

Tataḥ kḥhanema (Sam. XI. 22).

Yā oṣadhīḥ ppūrvā jātāḥ (Sam. XII. 75).

Yāḥ pphalīnīḥ (Sam. XII. 89).

Note: This rule also is applicable to all mutes.

6. The first mute of a group is not doubled if followed by any of the 'antastha' or 'ūṣman' letters (IV. 104).

E.g., *Pakṣmāṇi* (Sam. XIX. 89).

Sukṣmā (Sam. I. 27).

Ayakṣmāḥ (Sam. IV. 12).

Note: In the above examples 'k', 'ṣ', and 'm' form the group. And the 'k' would according to rule IV. 100 undergo duplication, where it is not followed by the 'ūṣman' 'ṣ'. This rule also is applicable to all mutes.

7. The 'ūṣman' and 'antastha'-letters which are not preceded by a vowel, do not double the following mute (IV. 105).

E.g., *Sthālībhiḥ sthālīḥ* (Sam. XIX. 27).

Divah skambhanīḥ (Sam. I. 19).

Counter illustration:

Viṣṇnoḥ sthānam (Sam. II. 8).

Rāṣṭtram (Sam. X. 2).

Note: This rule is applicable to all muteṣ.

8. The mute-letter, which is preceded by a visarjanīya and followed by a consonant, is doubled (IV. 105).

E.g., *Viṣṇoḥ kkramah* (Sam. XII. 5).

Nilangoḥ kkrimiḥ (Sam. XXIV. 30).

Deva savitaḥ pprasuva (Sam. IX. 1).

Yuñjānaḥ pprathamam (Sam. XI. 1).

Counter illustration:

Vasoḥ pavitram (Sam. I. 2).

Yāḥ phalinīḥ (Sam. XII. 89).

Nyāṅkuḥ kukkuṭaḥ (Sam. XXIV. 32).

9. In some places the second letter of a series is duplicated by its first, and the fourth by its third (IV. 108).

E.g., *Vikhyāya > vikkyāya* (Sam. XI. 20).

Āchyaṭi > ācchyaṭi (Sam. XXIII. 39).

Viṣphuranti > viṣpphuranti

(Sam. XXIX. 41).

Goṣṭhānam > goṣṭṭhānam (Sam. I. 25).

Rāthyah > rātthyah (Sam. XXIII. 13).

Ājighra > ājigghra (Sam. VIII. 42).

Mīdhvah > mīḍḍhvaḥ (Sam. XVI. 50).

Adhvanaspātu > addhvanaspātu

(Sam. IV. 19).

Bibhrāt > bibbhrāt (Sam. XXXIII. 30).

Note: This rule is applicable to all the second and fourth letters of a mute-series.

10. The mute-letter is not be doubled, if it is followed by 'r', 'l', or a 'yama' (IV. 111, 112, 113).

E.g., *Aniṣṭṛtaḥ* (Sam. XXVII. 4).

Kḷptam (Sam. XVIII. 11).

Sakthnā dediśyate nārī (Sam. XXIII. 29).

Sañjñānam asi (Sam. XII. 46).

Note: This rule is applicable to all mute-letters.

11. If a mute-letter is followed by a non-nasal mute of the same series, no duplication takes place (IV. 115).

E.g., *Tat devānām > tad devānām*

(Sam. XXXIII. 17).

Antarikṣam purītatā (Sam. XXV. 8).

Note: This rule is applicable to all mute-letters.

12. A final consonant will not be doubled (IV. 16).

E.g., *Ūrk* (Sam. XVIII. 9).

Note: This rule is applicable to all mutes.

13. A non-nasal mute changes into the third letter of its series, if it is followed by a vowel or 'dhi' (any one of the last three letters of each series and 'y', 'r', 'l', 'v', or 'h' (IV. 118).

E.g., *Ut enam > ud enam* (Sam. XVII. 50).

Samudrāt ūrmih > samudrād ūrmih
(Sam. XVII. 89).

Yat grāme > yad grāme (Sam. III. 45).

Yat varmī > yad varmī (Sam. XXIX. 38).

Note: This rule applies to all mute-letters except the last one of each series.

14. A non-nasal mute changes into the first letter of its series, if it is followed by 'jit' (any one of the first two letters of each mute-series and 'ś', 'ṣ' or 's') (IV. 119).

E.g., *Anuṣṭup te'bhigarah* (Sam. VIII. 47).

Ūrk ca me (Sam. XVIII. 9).

Tat savituh (Sam. III. 35).

Anuṣṭup śārādī (Sam. XIII. 57).

Note: This rule applies to all mute-letters except the last one of each series.

15. According to the preceptor Śaunaka, a non-nasal mute which is different in its place of origin from a 'mut', changes into the second letter of its series, if it is followed by a 'mut' ('ś', 'ṣ', or 's') (IV. 120).

E.g., *Samyak sravanti > samyakh sravanti*
(Sam. XIII. 38).

Anuṣṭup śārādī > anuṣṭuph śārādī

(Sam. XIII. 57).

Counter illustration:

Tat sarītuḥ (Sam. III. 35).

Note: This rule applies to all mutes except the last one of each series.

16. A non-nasal mute changes into the nasal of its series, if followed by any nasal (IV. 121).

E.g., *Vāk mātīyā > vān mātīyā* (Sam. XIII. 58).

Tat mītrasya > tan mītrasya

(Sam. XXXIII. 38).

Note: This rule applies to all non-nasal mutes.

17. In the middle of a word the first four letters of each mute-series change into 'yama', if they are followed by the last letter of any mute-series (IV. 161).

E.g., *Rukkma* (Sam. XII. 1).

Yajjñāḥ (Sam. VIII. 4).

Daddhnā (Sam. XIX. 23).

Note: This rule applies to all mutes except the last one of each series.

18. The word *nakktam* contains the duplication of a mute (VI. 26).

E.g., *Madhu nakktam utoṣasah* (Sam. XIII. 28).

25. Kh.

According to the preceptor Gārggya the letter 'kh' of the root 'khyāti' should be sounded as 'k', except in 'sakkhya', 'ukkhya' and 'mukkhya' (IV. 165).

E.g., *Vikkhyāya cakṣuṣā > vikṣāya cakṣuṣā*
(Sam. XI. 23).

Ākkhyātam > ākṣātam.

26. *G.*

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 108, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

27. *Gh.*

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

28. *Ṇ*

1. The final 'ṇ', if preceded by a short vowel and followed by any vowel, is doubled (IV. 106).

E.g., *Yunṇasi* (Sam. X. 25).

Tam u tvā dadhyann ṛṣiḥ (Sam. XI. 33).

Counter illustration:

Su prāṇjo memyat (Sam. XXV. 25).

Tān ujjeṣam (Sam. IX. 31).

2. Except the word 'ārapantī', the words 'barhir anktām', 'bhadreṇa prñktam', 'pañktiḥ', 'samanḍhi', 'pari vṛndhi', 'pāntrān', and similar words, contain two anunāsika letters (IV. 30).

E.g., *Sam barhir anñktām* (Sam. II. 22).

Sam mā bhadreṇa prñkttm

(Sam. IX. 4).

Paññktiś chandaḥ (Sam. XIV. 18).

Payasā samanīndhi (Sam. XIII. 41).

Pari vīndhi harasā (Sam. XIII. 41).

Antarikṣāya pānītrān (Sam. XXIV. 26).

Counter illustration:

Ṛtasya sāman tsaram ārapantī

(Sam. XXII. 2).

29. C.

1. In all the texts: Samhitā, pada, and krama, the augment 'c' comes between a vowel and a following 'ch' (IV. 25).

E.g., *Acchā vadāmasi* (Sam. XVI. 4).

Yacchā nah śarma saprathāh

(Sam. XXXV. 21).

Ācchac chandah, pracchac chandah

(Sam. XV. 5).

Varmaṇācchādayāmi (Sam. XVII. 49).

2. But the augment 'c' does not come between the vowel of 'yasya', 'atihāya', or 'saha' and the following 'ch' (IV. 26).

E.g., *Yasya chāyā* (Sam. XXV. 13).

Atihāya chidrā gātrāṇi (Sam. XXV. 43).

Saha stomāh. saha chandasah

(Sam. XXXIV. 48).

30. Ch.

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

31. J.

1. The letter 'j' which follows a vowel, some times will change into 'y', if followed by a vowel, with the exception of the letter 'r', in the same word (IV. 164).

E.g., *Ajo hy agner a(ja or ya)niṣṭa*
(Sam. XIII. 51).

Abjā gojāh (Sam. X. 24).

Bhujjyuh (Sam. XVIII. 42).

Ājyam (Sam. II. 8).

Tad indreṇa jayata (Sam. XVII. 34).

Vijr̥mbhamānāya (Sam. XXII. 7).

Note: *Siddheśvara-varman* infers that the *Kātyāyana-pratiśākhya's* prescription of pronouncing intervocalic 'j' as 'y' (so that *ajā* was to be pronounced *ayā*—) may connect it with the western dialects.¹³

32. Jh.

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115, 116, 118, 120, 121 and 161 under 'K'.

33. Ñ.

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115 and 116 under 'K'.

13. Vide his *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, page 53, 1929.

34. T.

1. The letter 't' of the word 'ṣaṭ' with its penultimate letter changes into 'o', if followed by 'daśa', or 'danta', which mean 'saṃkhyā' and 'vayas' respectively (III. 47).

E.g., *Ṣaṭ daśa > ṣoḍaśa* (Sam. XVIII. 25).

Ṣaṭ dantā asya > ṣoḍantah.

Note: Here the first letter of the following word 'd' also changes into 'mūrdhanya' 'ḍ', by the rule III. 40.

35. Th.

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

36. D.

1. According to some preceptors the letter 'ḍ' which falls between two vowels, and which is in the same word (samāna-pada), changes into 'l' (IV. 144).

E.g., *Idē > ile* (Sam. VIII. 43).

Counter illustration:

Vīḍum (Sam. XII. 23).

37. DH.

1. According to some preceptors the letter 'ḍh', which falls between two vowels, and which is in the same word (samāna-pada) changes into 'lh' (IV. 144).

E.g., *Aṣādḥā > aṣāḥā* (Sam. XIII. 26).

Counter illustration:

Mīdhvastokāya (Sam. XVI. 50).

38. N.

The word 'niṣaṇa' contains two mutes (ṇ)
(VI. 26).

E.g., *Niṣaṇṇāya svāhā* (Sam. XXII. 8).

39. T.

1. By the rule III. 40, the letter 't' changes into 'ṭ' (mūrdhanya), if preceded by 'āghā' which is not preceded by 'āḍambara' (III. 48).

E.g., *Dāru āghātaḥ > godhā kālakā dārvā-ghāṭaḥ* (Sam. XXIV. 35).

2. The letter 't' of the words 'tat' and 'brhat' is elided, if followed by 'kara', and 'pati' respectively (III. 52).

E.g., *Tat karān > taskarām ut* (Sam. XI. 78).

Brhat patih > Brhaspatih

(Sam. XXV. 19).

3. The letter 't' will changes into 'ṭ' (mūrdhanya), if preceded by 'ṣ' (III. 80).

E.g., *Varūtrīs tvā > varūtrīṣṭvā*

(Sam. XI. 61).

4. The letter 't' changes into 'l', if followed by 'l' (IV. 13).

E.g., *Āsīt lokam > āsil lokam* (Sam. XIV. 31).

Pari cit lokam > pari cū lokam.

5. The augment 't' comes between 'n' and its following 's' (IV. 15).

E.g., *Trīn samudrān > trīntsamudrān*
(Sam. XIII. 31).

Asmān sīte > asmāntsīte (Sam. XII. 70).

6. According to preceptor Dālbhya, the above augment of 't' does not take place (IV. 16).

E.g., *Trīn samudrān samasrpat*
(Sam. XIII. 31).

Asmān sīte payasā (Sam. XII. 70).

7. At the end of words the ta-mute-series changes into ca-mute-series, if followed by ca-mute-series or 'ś' (IV. 95, 96).

E.g., *Tat cakṣuḥ > tac cakṣuḥ*
(Sam. XXXVI. 24).

Ārāt cit > ārācciddveṣaḥ (Sam. XX. 52)

Ācchat chandah > ācchacchandah
(Sam. XV. 5).

Ut jīhānāḥ > ujīhānāḥ (Sam. XV. 24).

Vājāñ jayatu > vājāñ jayatu
(Sam. V. 37).

Tat śakeyam > tacchakeyan tan me
(Sam. I. 5).

Ut śiṣaḥ > māmīṣām kañcanocchiṣaḥ
(Sam. XVII. 45).

Svadhāvān śukrah > *svadhāvāñ śukrah*
(Sam. XXXIII. 5).

Piśaṅgān śisirāya > *piśaṅgāñ chisirāya*
(Sam. XXIV. 11).

Ādityān śmaśrubhiḥ > *ādityāñ śmaśru-*
bhiḥ (Sam. XXV. 1).

Note: This rule is applicable to all the five letters of ta-mute-series. There is no illustration available of the words which begin with 'jh' and 'ñ'. The change of 'n', if followed by 'c' and 'ch' is also explained in III. 135.

8. The following words contain two mutes (t)—'vettu', 'vittva', 'pāttram', 'abhittyaṃ', 'mṛttikā', 'dāttram', and 'samavavartti' (VI. 26).

E.g., *Prati tvā parvatī vettu* (Sam. I. 19).

Vittvā gātum ita (Sam. II. 21).

Īsannū pāttrañ janayanta devāḥ
(Sam. VII. 24).

Abhittyaṃ devam (Sam. IV. 25).

Asmā ca me mṛttikā ca me
(Sam. XVIII. 13).

Somasya dāttram asi svāhā
(Sam. X. 6).

Samāvarartti pṛthivī (Sam. XX. 13).

9. The letter 't' of 'tra' will not be doubled, if preceded by 'kṣa', 'vṛ', 'ci', 'śvi', 'sa', 'ta', or 'ya' (VI. 27).

E.g., *Kṣatrasya yonir asi* (Sam. X. 8).

Vṛtram vadhet (Sam. X. 8).

Citram devānām (Sam. VII. 42).

Śvitra ādityānām (Sam. XXIV. 39).

Satrasya ṛddhiḥ (Sam. VIII. 52).

Tatra gaccha (Sam. XIII. 31).

Yatra pūrve paretāḥ (Sam. XIII. 31).

10. The following words contain three mute-letters—'upottthitah', 'uttthambhanam', 'uttthabhāna', 'uttthāya', and 'uttthitāya' (VI. 29).

E.g., *Krayāyopottthito'surah*

(Sam. VIII. 55).

Varuṇasyottthambhanam (Sam. IV. 36).

Divam uttthabhāna (Sam. XVII. 72).

Uttthāya bṛhatī bhava (Sam. XI. 64).

Uttthitāya svāhā (Sam. XXII. 8).

40. Th.

The letter 'th' changes into 'ṭh' (mūrdhanya), if preceded by 'ṣ' (III. 80).

E.g., *Kṛṣṇo'syākhareṣṭhah* (Sam. II. 1).

40. D.

1. Along with the other changes the following 'dantya' letter ('l', 't', 'th', 'd', 'dh', 'n', 'l', 's') also changes into mūrdhanya ('ṛ', 'ṭ', 'ṭh', 'ḍ', 'ḍh', 'ṇ', 'r', 'ṣ') respectively (III. 40).

E.g., *Svah sām > svarṣām* (Sam. XXXIV. 20).

Dhūh sāhau > dhūrṣāhau

(Sam. IV. 33).

Duḥ dabhaḥ > dūḍabhaḥ

(Sam. III. 36).

Duḥ nāśaḥ > dūṇāśaḥ

Puraḥ dāśaḥ > puroḍāśaḥ

(Sam. XIX. 20).

Ṣaṭ daśa > ṣoḍaśa (Sam. XVIII. 25).

Ṣaṭ dantū asya > ṣoḍantaḥ.

Note: This rule is applicable to the letters 'l', 't', 'th', 'd', 'dh', 'n', 'ṇ', and 's'.

2. The following words contain two mutes (d)—'asmaddryak', 'vimucyaddhvam', 'ṛddhi', 'vṛddhi', 'arāddhyai', 'arddha', 'śuddha', and 'buddha', (VI. 26).

E.g., *Asmaddryag vāvṛdhe* (Sam. VII. 39).

Vimucyaddvam aghnyā devayānāḥ

(Sam. XII. 73).

Satrasya ṛddhir asi (Sam. VIII. 52).

Vṛddham ca me vṛddhiś ca me

(Sam. XVIII. 4).

Arāddhyā edidhiṣuḥ (Sam. XXX. 9).

Antaś ca parārdhaś caitā me

(Sam. XVII. 2).

Śuddhabālah sarvaśuddhabālah

(Sam. XXIV. 3).

Pra buddhāya svāhā (Sam. XXII. 7).

3. The first letter of the group of the word 'udraḥ' will not be doubled, if the word means a 'cara-dravya' (VI. 28).

E.g., *Apām udro māsāṅkaśyapah*
(Sam. XXIV. 37).

Counter illustration:

Samuddrāya śiśumārān
(Sam. XXIV. 21).

42. Dh.

1. The letter 'dh' of the word 'dudhuksan' changes into 'd' (III. 55).

E.g., *Dudhuksan > sahasradhārām brhatīm*
duduksan (Sam. XXXIII. 28).

2. The first letter of the group of the word 'iddhrāya' will not be doubled, if the word means a 'cara-dravya' (VI. 28):

E.g., *Namo vīddhryāya ca* (Sam. XVI. 38).

43. N.

1. In the same word the letter 'n' changes into 'ṇ', if preceded by 'r', 'ś' or 'repha' (III. 85).

E.g., *Nṛṇām* (Sam. XI. 27).

Pūṣṇah (Sam. I. 10).

Pūrṇā (Sam. III. 49).

Note: Compare Pāṇini 'raśābhyām no naś samānapade'.

2. The letter 'n' which is preceded by 'r', 'ś' or 'repha', even if it is interpolated by vowels, 'y', 'v', 'h', ka-mute-series, or pa-mute-series, changes into 'ṇ' (III. 86).

E.g., *Nrmanāḥ > trtīyam apsu nrmanāḥ*
(Sam. XII. 18).

Purīṣavāhanah > agne purīṣavāhanah
(Sam. XI. 44).

Pravāhanah > vibhūr asi pra vāhanah
(Sam. V. 31).

Counter illustration:

Vahnir asi havvyavāhanah (Sam. V. 31).

Pra no yacchatv aryyamā (Sam. IX. 29).

3. In the following places, 'n' is prescribed—
'nisaṇāya', 'rathavāhanam', 'indra eṇam', 'pari
ṇīyate', 'sam indra ṇah', 'uruṣyāṇah', 'rakṣā
ṇah', 'śūṇah', 'ṣuṇah', 'ṣuṇāsattyā', 'svarṇa',
'asthūri ṇau', 'pra ṇa āyūṁṣi', (III. 87).'

E.g., *Nisaṇāya svāhotthitāya* (Sam. XXII. 8).

Rathavāhanam havir asya nāma
(Sam. XXIX. 45).

Indra eṇam prathamō adhyatiṣṭhat
(Sam. XXIX. 13).

So addhvarāya pari ṇīyate kavīh
(Sam. XXXIII. 75).

Sam indra no manasā neṣi gobhīh
(Sam. VIII. 15).

Uruṣyā no aghāyatah (Sam. III. 26).

Rakṣā no brāmhaṇaspate (Sam. III. 30).

Moṣūṇa indrātra (Sam. III. 46).

Abhīṣu ṇah sakhīnām (Sam. XXVII. 41).

Gomadūṣuṇāsattyā (Sam. XX. 81).

Svarṇa gharmah (Sam. XVIII. 50).

Asthūri nau gārhapatyāni santu

(Sam. II. 27).

Pra na āyūṁṣi tāriṣat

(Sam. XXIII. 32).

4. According to Śākaṭāyana, 'ṇ' is prescribed in the word 'pariṇah' (III. 88).

E.g., *Pari ṇo rudrasya hetih* (Sam. XVI. 50).

Counter illustration:

Pari no rudrasya hetih.

5. In the Saṃhitā-text, the letter 'n' of the root 'neti' and 'hinomi' (vikaraṇa), which precedes the preposition 'pra', changes into 'ṇ' (III. 89).

E.g., *Pra naya > pra ṇaya* (Sam. XI. 8).

Pra nudānah > pra ṇudānah

(Sam. XV. 1).

Pra hinomi > pra ṇinomi

(Sam. XXXV. 19).

6. At the end of a word the letter 'n' retains its own form (III. 90).

E.g., *Pitrñ havise attave* (Sam. XIX. 70).

Pūṣan tava vrate vayam

(Sam. XXXIV. 41).

Akrañ karma karmakṛtañ

(Sam. III. 47).

7. The letter 'n' of 'ni', 'vani', 'nasah' and 'prapīnam' retains its own form (III. 91).

E.g., *Kṛṣṇā babhru nīkāśāḥ*

(Sam. XXIV. 18).

Brahmavani tvā kṣatравani

(Sam. I. 17).

Vārdhrīnasas te mattyā aranyāya

(Sam. XXIV. 39).

Apām prapīnam agna (Sam. XVII. 87).

8. According to some, the letter 'n' of the word 'śrīmanāḥ' retains its own form (III. 92).

E.g., *Śrīmanāḥ śatapayāḥ* (Sam. XVII. 57).

Counter illustration:

Śrīmanāḥ śatapayāḥ (Sam. XVII. 56).

9. The letter 'n' of the following words retains its own form—'indrāgnī', 'citrabhāno', 'vārtraghnam', 'duḥṣvapnyam', 'dhruvayoniḥ', 'puro'nuvākyābhiḥ', 'puro'nuvākyāḥ', and 'carmanam' (III. 93).

E.g., *Indrāgnyor ujjitīm* (Sam. II. 15).

Indrāyāhi citrabhāno (Sam. XX. 87).

Indrasya vārtraghnam asi (Sam. X. 8).

Apa duḥṣvapnyam suva

(Sam. XXXV. 11).

Dhruvakṣitir dhruvayoniḥ

(Sam. XIV. 1).

Ṛcaḥ puro'nuvākyābhiḥ (Sam. XX. 12).

Puro'nuvākyā⁴ yājyābhiḥ

(Sam. XX. 12).

Sādhyaebhyaś carmamnam

(Sam. XXX. 15).

10. The letter 'n' retains its own form, if preceded by 'r', 'ś', or repha and followed by a letter of 'ta', mute-series (III. 94).

E.g., *Tr̥mpantu hotrāḥ* (Sam. VII. 15).

Ava krandena tālu (Sam. XXV. 1).

11. The letter 'n' retains its own form, if preceded by 'ś' and followed by 'r' (III. 95).

E.g., *Ugras tveṣa nrmnaḥ* (Sam. XXXIII. 80).

12. The letter 'n' retains its own form, if preceded by 'r', 'ś', or repha, which are interpolated by 'śa', 'la', 'sa', or by a letter of 'ca'-mute-series (III. 96).

E.g., *Dr̥śāno rukmaḥ* (Sam. XII. 1).

Samrād asi kṛśānuḥ (Sam. V. 32).

Nir̥rtin nirjajalyena (Sam. XXV. 2).

Apām rasena varuṇaḥ (Sam. XIX. 94).

Prācīnañ jyotiḥ (Sam. XX. 42).

Antaś carati rocanā (Sam. III. 7).

Traiṣṭubhena chandasā (Sam. XI. 9).

Rathino jayantu (Sam. XXIX. 57).

Ārktñ ime (Sam. XXIX. 41).

13. The letter 'n' changes into 'ś', if followed by 'c' or 'ch'. The anunāsika also becomes the penultimate letter (III. 135).

E.g., *Ahīn ca > ahīmś ca sarvān*

(Saṃ. XVI. 5).

Pluṣīn cakṣuṣe > pluṣīmś cakṣuṣe

(Saṃ. XXIV. 29).

Note: For 'ch' illustration is hardly procurable.

14. The letter 'n' changes into 's', if followed by 't' or 'th'. The anunāsika also becomes the penultimate letter. But this rule is not applicable, if 'tama' follows (III. 136, 144).

E.g., *Gavayān tvaṣṭre > gavayāms tvaṣṭre*

(Saṃ. XXIV. 28).

Anyān te > anyāms te (Saṃ. XVII. 11).

Madīn tamānām > madīntamānām tvā

(Saṃ. VIII. 48).

Madhun tamānām > madhūntamānām

tvā (Saṃ. VIII. 48).

15. The letter 'n' at the end of the words 'dadhanvān', or 'svavān' is elided, if 'y' follows (III. 137).

E.g., *Dadhanvān yaḥ > dadhanvā yo apsv an-*

tarā (Saṃ. XIX. 2).

Svavān yātu > svavā yāttv arvān

(Saṃ. XXXIV. 26).

16. The letter 'n' is elided, if followed by 'rayivṛdha' (III. 138).

E.g., *Annān rayi vṛdhah pīvāh > annā rayi*

vṛdhah (Saṃ. XXVII. 23).

17. The letter 'n' of the word 'nr̥n' changes into visarjaniya, if followed by 'p'. The anunāsika also becomes the penultimate letter (III. 141).

E.g., *Nr̥n pāhi* > *nr̥h pāhi śṛṇudhi girah*
(Sam. XIII. 52).

18. The letter 'n' of the words 'śatrūn', 'paridhīn', 'kratūn', and 'vanaspatīn' changes into repha, if followed by vowels. The anunāsika also becomes the penultimate letter (III. 142).

E.g., *Apa jahi śatrūm rapamṛdhah*
(Sam. VII. 37).

Vanvanna vātah paridhīm rapah
(Sam. XIX. 53).

Agne kratvā kratūm ranu
(Sam. XIX. 40).

Ye vā vanaspatīm ranu (Sam. XIII. 7).

19. The letter 'n' having 'a' its penultimate letter changes into 'y', if followed by vowels (III. 143).

E.g., *Mahān indrah* > *maḥāy indrah*
(Sam. VII. 40).

20. The letter 'n' at the end of 'nirjaganvān' is not liable to change, if followed by 'tamas' (III. 145).

E.g., *Nirjaganvān tamasaḥ* > *nirjaganvān tamasaḥ* (Sam. XII. 13)

21. The letter 'n' of the words 'dhāman', 'śatrūn', 'cikitvān tvam', 'pūṣan', and 'arvan' is not liable to change (III. 146).

E.g., *Dhāman te viśvam bhuvanam*
(Sam. XVII. 99).

Śatrūn tādhi vi mṛdho nudasva
(Sam. XVIII. 71).

Ā ca vaha mitra mahaś cikitvān tvam
(Sam. XXIX. 25).

Pūṣan tava vrate vayam
(Sam. XXXIV. 41).

Tava śarīram patayişṇu, arvan tava cittam
(Sam. XXIX. 22).

22. In the chapter (of the *Sukla-yajurveda*) which begins with *Aśvas tūparah*, the letter 'n' having 'ā' as its penultimate letter, retains its own form, if followed by a vowel. (III. 147).

E.g., *Śiśumārān ālabhate samudrāya > śiśu-*
mārān ālabhate (Sam. XXIV. 21).

Maṇḍūkān adbhyaḥ > maṇḍūkān adbhyaḥ
(Sam. XXIV. 21).

23. The letter 'n' of the words 'manuṣyān', 'tān', 'lokān', and 'amitrān' retains its own form, if followed by the preposition 'ut' (III. 148).

E.g., *Manuṣyān ut > manuṣyān ud ājayatām*
(Sam. IX. 31).

Tān ut > tān ujjeṣam (Sam. IX. 31).

Trimlokān udājayatām (Sam. IX. 31).

Kṣiṇomi bramhaṇāmītrān unnayāmi

(Sam. XI. 82).

24. The letter 'n' retains its own form, if followed by 'āpnoti', or 'iti' (III. 149).

E.g., *Bhakṣān āpnoti idābhiḥ > bhakṣān āpnoti*

(Sam. XIX. 29).

Śrapayān iti > aditiḥ śrapayān iti

(Sam. XI. 59).

25. In the krama text, the 'n' of the word 'vaiṣṇavān' retains its own form, if followed by a vowel (III. 150).

E.g., *Vaiṣṇavān ava > vaiṣṇavān ava*

(Sam. V. 25).

26. In the following double-words the 'n' at the end of each first word retains its own form—

Grahān aimi (Sam. III. 41).

Grahān upahvayāmahe (Sam. III. 42).

Varcasvān aham (Sam. VIII. 38).

Manuṣyān antarikṣam (Sam. VIII. 60).

Agniṣv āttān ṛtumataḥ (Sam. XIX. 61).

Payasvān agne (Sam. XX. 22).

Tān asvīnā (Sam. XXI. 42).

Paṭaṅgān asanditah (Sam. XIII. 10).

Svargān apām patiḥ (Sam. XIII. 31).

Sapaṭnān indrāgnī (Sam. XVII. 64).

Nabhasvān ādradānuḥ

(Sam. XVIII. 45).

Vidvān agneḥ (Sam. XVII. 66).
Devān asredhat (Sam. XVIII. 75).
Anaḍvān āśuḥ (Sam. XXII. 22).
Athaitān aṣṭau (Sam. XXX. 22).
Virūpān ālabhate (Sam. XXX. 22).
Etāvān asya (Sam. XXXI. 3).
Āyuṣmān agne (Sam. XXXV. 17).
Vāyavyān āraṇyāḥ (Sam. XXXI. 6).
Pra vidvān agninā.
Anaḍvān adho rāmau (Sam. XXIX. 59).
Śatṛūn anu yam (Sam. XXXIII. 80).
Yātudhānān asthāt (Sam. XXXIV. 26).
Asmān āriṣṭebhih (Sam. XXXIV. 30).
 (III. 151).

27. In the middle of a word, 'n' changes into 'anusvāra', if followed by a 'uṣman'-letter (IV. 2).

E.g., *Jakṣivān saḥ* > *jakṣivāmsaḥ*
 (Sam. VIII. 19).
Papivān saḥ > *papivāmsaḥ*
 (Sam. VIII. 19).

28. The 'n' of the root 'vanati' changes into anusvāra, if it is followed by 'unādi'-suffix 'ś' (IV. 3).

29. The preceptors Kāśyapa and Śākaṭāyana think that 'n' is elided in the above instances, and the anuṇāsika of 'n' becomes the penultimate letter of the first word (IV. 5).

E.g., *Tām saṇituh* (Sam. XVII. 74).

30. 'N' changes into 's', if it belongs to an 'āmreḍita-pada' and followed by 'k', 'kh', 'p' or 'ph'; which are not followed by 'ūṣman'-letters. The anunāsika also becomes 'upadhā' (IV. 9).

E.g., *Kān karavāṇi* > *kāms karavāṇi*.

Kār kār āmantrayati > *kāms kār āmantrayati*.

31. 'N' changes into 'l', if followed by 'l', and both the 'l' are sounded as a nasal letter (IV. 14).

E.g., *Asmin loke* > *asmiml loke* (Saṃ. III. 21).

Trīn lokān > *trīml lokān* (Saṃ. IX. 31).

32. The final 'n', if preceded by a short vowel and followed by any vowel is doubled.

E.g., *Aśman ūrjam* > *aśmann ūrjam*
(Saṃ. XVII. 1).

Akṣan amīmadanta > *akṣann amīmadanta*
(Saṃ. III. 51).

33. The words 'svinna', 'anna' and 'sanna' contain two mutes (n) (VI. 26).

E.g., *Svinnaḥ snāto malād iva* (Saṃ. XX. 20).

Annapate'nnasya (Saṃ. XI. 83).

Sannaḥ sindhuḥ (Saṃ. VIII. 59).

44. P.

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 108, 111—115, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

45. *Ph.*

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121, and 161 under 'K'.

46. *B.*

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 108, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

47. *Bh.*

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, 111—113, 115, 116, 118—121 and 161 under 'K'.

48. *M.*

1. 'M' changes into anusvāra, if followed by 'repha' or 'ūṣman' letters (IV. 1).

E.g., *Apām rasasya* > *apām rasasya*
(Saṃ. IX. 3).

Tvām śaśvantaḥ > *tvām śaśvantaḥ*
(Saṃ. XVII. 76).

Devam savitāram > *devaṃ savitāram*
(Saṃ. IV. 25).

Tapūṃṣi > *tapūṃṣi* (Saṃ. XIII. 10).

Urum hi rājā > *uruṃ hi rājā*
(Sāṃ. VIII. 23).

2. In the middle of a word 'm' changes into anusvāra, if followed by 'ūṣman'-letters (IV. 2).

3. The 'm' of the root 'vamati' changes into anuṣvāra, if it is followed by 'uṇādi' suffix 'ś' (IV. 3).

E.g., *Vamśa* > *vaṁśa*.

4. According to preceptors Kāśyapa and Śākātāyana 'm' is elided in the above places, and the anunāsika becomes the penultimate letter of the first word (IV. 5).

E.g., *Apāṁ rasasya* (Saṁ. IX. 3).

. *Trāṁ śaśvantaḥ* (Saṁ. XVII. 76).

5. In the words 'saṁ.rāt' and 'sām.rājya' the 'm' retains its own form (IV. 6).

E.g., *Samrād iti samrāt* > *saṁrāt cakṣuḥ*
(Saṁ. XX. 5).

Sāmrajyam iti sām|rajyam > *sāmraj-*
jyaṁ gaccheti me (Saṁ. IV. 24).

Sāmrajyenābhiśiñdāmi
(Saṁ. XVIII. 37).

6. 'M' changes into 'ś', if preceded by 'p' which is followed by 'u' and followed by 'c'. The anunāsika also becomes upadhā (IV. 7).

E.g., *Pum calī* > *pumścalī kitavaḥ*
(Saṁ. XXX. 22).

Pumsaḥ (Saṁ. XXV. 45).

Pramuñca (Saṁ. XVI. 9).

. *Vi muñcati* (Saṁ. II. 23):

7. In the middle of a word 'm' changes into 's', if followed by 'k', 'kh', 'p', or 'ph' which are not followed by ūṣman-letters. The anunāsika also becomes upadhā (IV. 8).

E.g., *Sam kṛtiḥ* > *samskṛtiḥ* (Sam. VII. 14).

Pum khātāḥ > *pumskhātāḥ*.

Pum putrāḥ > *pumsputrāḥ*.

Pum phalāḥ > *pumsphalāḥ*.

Counter illustration:

Sam kṣare > *sankhare'mṛta*.

8. 'M' changes into 's', if it belongs to an 'āmreḍita-pada', and followed by 'k', 'kh', 'p', or 'ph', which are not followed by 'ūṣman'-letters. The anunāsika also becomes upadhā (IV. 9).

9. 'M' changes into 'antastha', if followed by another 'antastha'. The anunāsika becomes upadhā (IV. 10).

E.g., *Sam yaumi* > *samyyaumīdam*

(Sam. I. 22).

Rāsabhaṃ yuvam > *rāsabhaṃyuyvam*

(Sam. XI. 13).

Sam vapāmi > *samv vapāmi*

(Sam. I. 21).

Tam lokam > *tanllokam*

(Sam. XX. 25).

10. 'M' will change into the last letter of the mute-series by which it is followed (IV. 12).

E.g., *Vratam kṛṇuta* > *vrataṁ kṛṇuta*
(Sam. IV. 11).

Vratam carisyāmi > *vrataṁ carisyāmi*
(Sam. I. 5).

Etam te deva > *etan te deva*
(Sam. II. 12).

Idam pitṛbhyaḥ > *idam pitṛbhyaḥ*
(Sam. XIX. 68).

Sam jñānam asi > *sañjñānam asi*
(Sam. XII. 46).

49. Y

1. In the word 'jāyāspatya' the letter 'y' with 'ā' is elided (IV. 40).

E.g., *Sañjāspatyam su yamam ākṛṇuṣva*
(Sam. XXXIII. 12).

2. At the end of words, the letter 'y' which falls between two vowels is elided (IV. 125).

E.g., *Mahām y indraḥ* > *mahām indraḥ*
(Sam. VII. 39).

Svām y aham > *svām aham*
(Sam. XI. 83).

Śvitra y ādityānām > *śvitra ādityānām*
(Sam. XXIV. 39).

Tā y asya > *tā asya sūda dohāsaḥ*
(Sam. XII. 55).

Ida y ehi > *ida ehi* (Sam. III. 27).

Adita y ehi > adita ehi (Sam. III. 27).

Bhūmyā y ākhūn > bhūmyā ākhūn ‘
(Sam. XXIV. 26).

3 In the word ‘prayugam’ the letter ‘y’ is elided (IV. 128).

E.g., *Prayugam > pra ugam ukthyam*
(Sam. XV. 11).

4. In the following places only two ‘y’ letters are prescribed—‘āpyāyyamānaḥ’, ‘rayyai’, ‘dhāyyā’, ‘śravāyyam’, ‘nṛpāyyam’, ‘pauruṣeyyā’, ‘hrdayyā’, ‘saharāyyā’, ‘nicāyya’, ‘sānnāyya’, and ‘santāyya’ (IV. 151).

E.g., *Āpyāyyamāno yamaḥ* (Sam. VIII. 57).

Rayyai tvā poṣāya tvā (Sam. XIV. 22).

Yajeti dhāyyā rūpām (Sam. XIX. 24).

Tan no gīrbhiḥ śravāyyam
(Sam. XIX. 64).

Vartti ruddrā nṛpāyyam (Sam. XX. 81).

Pauruṣeyyā gr̥bhaḥ (Sam. XXI. 43).

Namo hrdayyāya ca (Sam. XVI. 44).

Saharāyyā nivartasva (Sam. XII. 10).

Agner jyotir nicāyya (Sam. XI. 1).

Sānnāyyabhāja nāvā amāvāsyā.

Maitraḥ sarasi santāyyamāne
(Sam. XXXIX. 5).

5. In the following places only one ‘y’ is allowed—‘jyotiḥ’, ‘cyavanaḥ’, ‘śyenah’, ‘śyāmam’,

'śyāmākāḥ', 'śyetaḥ', 'jyeṣṭhaḥ', 'jyog', 'jyā', 'ācchyaṭi', 'juṣasva yaviṣṭhya', 'śocā', 'yaviṣṭhya', 'sya', and 'nya' (IV. 153—155).

E.g., *Bṛhajjyotiḥ kariṣyataḥ* (Sam. XI. 3).

Duścyavanaḥ pṛtanāṣāṭ

(Sam. XVII. 39).

Indur dakṣaḥ śyena rtā vā

(Sam. XVIII. 53).

Śyāmam ca me loham ca me

(Sam. XVIII. 13).

Śyāmākāś' ca me (Sam. XVIII. 12).

Syeto malhaviḥ sārasyataḥ.

Yo ha vai jyaiṣṭhyam ca śraiṣṭhyam ca.

Jyok te san dr̥ṣi jīvyāsam

(Sam. XXXVI. 19).

Jyā iyam samane (Sam. XXIX. 40).

Kas tv ācchyaṭi (Sam. XXIII. 39).

Taṇ juṣasva yaviṣṭhya (Sam. XI. 73).

Bṛhaś chocā yaviṣṭhya (Sam. III. 3).

Kasya (Sam. XXIII. 47).

Yasya (Sam. VII. 29).

Hiranyam (Sam. XXXIV. 52).

Onyoh kavikratum (Sam. IV. 25).

6. In the same word, where the letter 'ś', 'c' or 'j' is doubled, because it is preceded by vowel, there, the letter 'y' which is joined with 'ś', 'c', or 'j' will not be doubled (IV. 156).

E.g., *Aśśyāma taṇ kāmam* (Sam. XVIII. 74).

Paśśyema śaradaḥ śatam

(Sam. XXXVI. 24).

Prāccyai diśe (Sam. XXII. 24).

Ācyā jānu (Sam. XIX. 62).

Bhujjyuh suparṇaḥ (Sam. XVIII. 42).

Counter illustration:

Tac cakṣuḥ (Sam. XXXVI. 24).

Taj juṣasva (Sam. XI. 73).

7. In a place where 'ś', 'c', or 'j' is doubled, because it is preceded or followed by a consonant, there should be no 'y' letter (IV. 157).

E.g., *Adṛśśramasya ketavaḥ* (Sam. VIII. 40).

Arccimṣi, kūrccaḥ.

Vajjraḥ (Sam. X. 21).

8. According to preceptor Jātūkarnya, in the word 'kaśyapa' there is no 'y', except the word being the name of a sage (IV. 158).

E.g., *Apām uddro māsāṇ kaśśapaḥ*

(Sam. XXIV. 37).

Counter illustration:

Tryāyuṣaṃ jamadagneḥ kaśyapasya

(Sam. III. 62).

Kaśśapo rohit (Sam. XXIV. 37).

9. The words 'uccaiḥ', 'rajjuḥ', and 'majjānaḥ' have no 'y' letter (IV. 159).

E.g., *Uccair ghoṣāya* (Sam. XVI. 19).

Valvaḥjibhī rajjubhir yutā bhavati.

Rajjusandānam ādāya.

Rajjusarjjam (Sam. XXX. 7).

Asthī majjānam māsaraiḥ

(Sam. XIX. 82).

10. In the following places the word 'martta' has no 'y' letter—'martto vurīta', 'martteṣv agniḥ', 'paro marttaḥ', and 'te marttaḥ' (IV. 160).

E.i., *Martto vurīta sakhyam* (Sam. IV. 8).

Martteṣv agnir amṛto nidhāyi

(Sam. XII. 24).

Paro marttaḥ paraḥ śvā (Sam. XXII. 5).

Yadā te martto anu (Sam. XXIX. 18).

Counter illustration:

Deva ā marttyeṣv ā (Sam. IV. 16).

Tan marttyasya (Sam. XXXI. 17).

Somo devo amarttyaḥ (Sam. XXI. 14).

11. According to preceptor Gārggya the letter 'y' of the root 'khyāti' is sounded as 'ś', except in the words 'sakhya', 'ukkhya', and 'mukhya' (IV. 165).

E.g., *Vikhyāya > viksāya cakṣusā*

(Sam. XI. 20).

Ākhyātam > āksātam.

50. R.

1. The repha augment comes between the words 'vana', and 'sada', if the former is not preceded by 'veṭ' (III. 49).

E.g., *Vanasadaḥ* > *vanarṣado vāyavo na so-māḥ* (Sam. XXXIII. 1).

Counter illustration:

Barhiṣade vedḍ vanasade veṭ
(Sam. XVII. 12).

2. By the rule IV. 100, the first letter of a group, preceded by a vowel, undergoes duplication. But in the case of repha, it is not doubled, but its next consonant undergoes the duplication (IV. 101).

E.g., *Ūrjje* (Sam. I. 1).

Sūryyaḥ (Sam. XXXI. 12).

3. The first letter of the group of the word 'vārdhrīnasah' is not doubled, if it means a 'caradravya' (VI. 28).

E.g., *Vārdhrīnasas te* (Sam. XXIV. 39).

51. L.

Note: See rules IV. 100, 102—105, under 'K'.

52. V.

1. At the end of words the letter 'v', which falls between two vowels, is elided (IV. 125).

E.g., *Viṣṇav urugāya* > *viṣṇa urugāya*
(Sam. VIII. 1).

Tāv ubhau > *tā ubhau* (Sam. XXIII. 20).

2. According to Śākaṭāyana and others, at the end of a word, the letter 'v' is not elided, if followed by an 'asasthāna' vowel (IV. 126, 127).

E.g., *Viṣṇav ete dādharttha* (Sam. V. 16).

Kṛśānav ete vaḥ (Sam. IV. 27).

Asau chi > asāv ehi (Sam. XXXVIII. 2).

Counter illustration:

Viṣṇa urugāya (Sam. VIII. 1).

Hiranyarūpā uṣasaḥ (Sam. X. 16).

53. ś.

1. The augment 'ś' comes between 'su' and 'candra' (III. 54).

E.g., *Su candra > ubhe suścandraḥ sarpiṣaḥ*
(Sam. XV. 43).

2. The letter 'ś', which follows the 'ta'-mute-series at the end of words, changes into 'ch', if followed by other than a mute (IV. 97).

E.g., *Tac chakeyam* (Sam. I. 5).

Māmīṣām kañcanocchiṣaḥ
(Sam. XVII. 45).

Piśaṅgāñ chiśirāya (Sam. XXIV. 11).

Counter illustration:

Ādityāñ śmaśrubhiḥ (Sam. XXV. 1).

54. ṣ.

The augment 'ṣ' comes between 'pari' and 'kṛta' (III. 53).

E.g., *Pari kṛtāḥ > pariṣkṛtāḥ* (Sam. XXI. 42).

55. S.

1. The 's' of 'sām' changes into 'ś', if preceded by 'svar' (III. 41).

E.g., *Svar sām* > *svarṣām* (Sam. XXXIV. 20).

2. The 's' of 'sāhau' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'dhūr' (III. 41).

E.g., *Dhūr sāhau* > *dhūrṣāhau* (Sam. IV. 33).

3. The 's' of 'anas' changes into 'd', if followed by 'vāha' (III. 45).

E.g., *Anas vāham* > *anaddvāham*
(Sam. XXXV. 13).

4. The 's' of the root 'siñcati' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'ito' (III. 46).

E.g., *Parīto siñcatā sutam* (Sam. XIX. 2).

5. The augment 's' comes between 'vana' and 'pati' (III. 50).

E.g., *Vanapatiḥ* > *vanaspatiḥ*
(Sam. XXIX. 35).

6. The augment 's' comes between 'ṛta' and 'pati', and 'avara' and 'para' (III. 51).

E.g., *Rtapate* > *rtaspate* (Sam. XXVII. 34).

Avaraparāya > *avarasparāya*
(Sam. XXX. 19).

7. The augment 's' comes between 'ta(t)' and 'kara', and 'brha(t)', and 'pati' (III. 52).

E.g., *Ta(t) karān* > *taskarān* (Sam. XI. 78).

Brha(t) patiḥ > *brhaspatiḥ*
(Sam. XXV. 19).

8. 'S' changes into 'ś', if preceded by 'bhāvī' (any one of the 'i', 'ī'; 'u', 'ū'; 'ṛ', 'ṝ'; 'ḷ', 'ḹ'; 'e', 'ai'; 'o', 'au'), in the same word (III. 56).

E.g., *Gosthānam* > *goṣṭhānam* (Sam. I. 25).

Paramesthī > *parameṣṭhī* (Sam. VIII. 54).

Susāva > *suśāva* (Sam. XIX. 2).

Sīsadhāma > *sīśadhāma* (Sam. XXV. 46).

Counter illustration:

Dhruvasadan tvā (Sam. IX. 2).

Vi sīmataḥ surucaḥ (Sam. XIII. 3).

9. 'S' changes into 'ś', if preceded by 'bhāvī' which is joined with anusvāra (III. 57).

E.g., *Tapūṁṣy agne* (Sam. XIII. 10).

Puroḍāśair havīṁṣyā (Sam. XIX. 20).

Counter illustration:

Utsatvānām māmakānām manāṁsi
(Sam. XVII. 42).

10. 'S' changes into 'ś', if preceded by 'k' and repha (III. 58).

E.g., *Dik su* > *dikṣu* (Sam. XVI. 6).

Rk su > *ṛkṣu*.

Gīh su > *gīrṣu*.

Dhūh su > *dhūrṣu*.

11. The 's' of 'sīdati', and 'sasāda' changes into 'ś', if followed by 'ni' (III. 59, 60).

E.g., *Ni sīdata* > *niśīdata* (Sam. VII. 34).

Ni sasāda > *niśasāda* (Sam. X. 27).

12. The 's' of 'su' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'o' (III. 61).

E.g., *Mo su naḥ* > *moṣūṇaḥ* (Sam. III. 46).

13. The 's' of 'su' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by an aprkta 'ū' (III. 62).

E.g., *Ū su naḥ* > *ūṣunaḥ* (Sam. XI. 42).

14. The 's' of 'su' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by the preposition 'abhi' (III. 63).

E.g., *Abhiḥ sū naḥ* > *abhīṣunaḥ sakhīnām*
(Sam. XXXVI. 6).

15. The 's' of the root 'siñcati' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by the preposition 'pari' or 'abhi' (III. 64, 65).

E.g., *Pari siñcanti* > *pariṣiñcanti*
(Sam. XX. 28).

Abhi siñcāmi > *abhiṣiñcāmi*
(Sam. IX. 30).

16. In Saṃhitā, the 's' of the root 'siñcati', which is separated by 'a' of the preceding 'abhi' changes into 'ṣ' (III. 66).

E.g., *Abhy asiñcam* > *abhyasiñcam*
(Sam. X. 1).

17. 'S' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by the preposition 'vi' and followed by the letter 'y' (III. 67).

E.g., *Vi syāmi* > *viṣyāmi* (Sam. XII. 65).

Counter illustration:

Visvaḥ paśya vyantarikṣam

(Sam. VII. 45).

18. 'S' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'hi' and followed by the letter 'm' or 'th' (III. 68).

E.g., *Hi sma* > *hiṣmā te* (Sam. III. 46).

Hi sthā > *āpo hiṣṭhā* (Sam. XI. 50).

19. In Samhitā 's' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'dyavi' and followed by the letter 'm' or 'th' (III. 69).

E.g., *Dyavi stha* > *dyaviṣṭha*

(Sam. XXXIII. 53).

20. The 's' of the root 'stani' and the root 'sti' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by the preposition 'ni' (III. 70).

E.g., *Niḥ styāyatām* > *niṣtyāyatām*

(Sam. VI. 15).

Ni stanihi > *niṣtanihi* (Sam. XXIX. 56).

21. The 's' of the preposition 'nis' (niḥ), which is a change-product of a visarga, changes into 'ṣ', if followed by 'tatakṣu' (III. 71).

E.g., *Niḥ tatakṣuḥ* > *niṣtatakṣuḥ*

(Sam. XVII. 92).

22. The 's' of the root 'stuvanti' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by the preposition 'anu' (III. 72).

E.g., *Anu stuvanti* > *anuṣṭuvanti*

(Sam. XXXIII. 97).

23. The 's' of 'svapnya' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'duḥ' (III. 73).

E.g., *Duḥ svapnyam* > *duṣvapnyam*

(Sam. XXXV. 11).

24. In the Samhitā text, the 's' of 'vandārus' and 'mākis', which is a change-product of visarjanīya changes into 'ṣ' (III. 74).

E.g., *Vandāruḥ te* > *vandāruṣ te*

(Sam. XII. 42).

Mākiḥ te > *mākiṣ te* (Sam. XIII. 11).

25. The 's' of 'sahi' changes into 'ṣ', if preceded by 'pṛtanā' (III. 75).

E.g., *Pṛtanā sāhyāya* > *pṛtanāṣāhyāya*

(Sam. XVIII. 68).

26. In the Samhitā text the 's' of 'sadhis', 'amśus' and 'aditis', which is the change-product of visarjanīya, changes into 'ṣ' (III. 76).

E.g., *Sadhiḥ tava* > *sadhiṣṭava* (Sam. XII. 36).

Amśuḥ te > *amśuṣte*.

Aditiḥ tvā > *aditiṣ tvā* (Sam. XI. 61).

27. The 's' of 'vāyus', 'agnis' and 'agnes', which is the change-product of visarjanīya, changes into 'ṣ', if followed by a word having one letter (III. 77).

E.g., *Vāyuḥ te* > *vāyuṣ te* (Sam. XIV. 14).

Agniḥ te > *agniṣ te* (Sam. XIII. 24).

Agneḥ tvā > *agneṣ tvāsy⁴ena*

(Sam. II. 11).

Counter illustration:

Agnih tigmēna > *agnis tigmēna*
(Sam. XVII. 16).

Agneḥ tanūh > *agnes tanūh*
(Sam. I. 15).

28. The 's' (the change-product of visarjanīya), changes into 'ṣ', if followed by a word of one letter which is followed by 's' (III. 8).

E.g., *Brhaspatiḥ tvā* > *brhaspatiṣ tvā sumne*
(Sam. IV. 21).

Prajāpatiḥ tvā > *prajāpatiṣ tvā sādāyatu*
(Sam. XIII. 17).

Counter illustration:

Viṣṇus tvā kramatām (Sam. I. 9).

Savitus tvā prasave (Sam. I. 31).

29. The 's' of 'mātrbhis', 'arcibhis', 'pāyubhis', and 'varūtris', which is the change product of visarjanīya, changes into 'ṣ', if followed by a word of one letter (III. 79).

E.g., *Mātrbhiḥ tvam* > *mātrbhiṣ tvam*
(Sam. XII. 38).

Arcibhiḥ tvam > *arcibhiṣ tvam*
(Sam. XII. 32).

Pāyubhiḥ tvam > *pāyubhiṣ tvam*
(Sam. XXXIII. 69).

Varūtris tvā > *varūtrīṣ tvā*
(Sam. XI. 61).

30. In the following places 's' retains its original form:

Anusantanotu.

Br̥haspatisutasya (Sam. VIII. 9).

Su samiddhāya (Sam. III. 2).

Su sandṛśam (Sam. III. 52).

Abhi satvā (Sam. XVII. 37).

Abhi samviśantu (Sam. XIII. 25).

Su sasyaḥ (Sam. IV. 10).

Ati sthūlam (Sam. XXX. 22).

Musale.

Patnīsamyyājān (Sam. XIX. 29).

Krātusthalā (Sam. XV. 15).

Añjisakthaḥ (Sam. XXIV. 4).

Divispr̥sā (Sam. XV. 27).

Hṛdispr̥śam (Sam. XV. 44).

Himsīḥ (Sam. IV. 1).

Ṛksāmayoḥ (Sam. IV. 9).

Ṛksāmābhyām (Sam. IV. 1).

Tittiris te (Sam. XXIV. 36).

Sīsena (Sam. XIX. 80).

Sīsāḥ (Sam. XXIII. 37).

Sīsam (Sam. XVIII. 13).

Paśu sani (Sam. XIX. 48).

Gosaniḥ (Sam. VIII. 12).

Prati sadṛñ (Sam. XVII. 81).

Prati sadṛkṣāsaḥ (Sam. XVII. 84).

Catustrimśat (Sam. XXV. 41).

31. The 's' will retain its own form, if followed by 'r', 'repha', or 'ar' (III. 83).

E.g., *Tisṛbhir astuvata* (Sam. XIV. 28).

Tisraś ca me (Sam. XVIII. 24).

Vāco visarjanam (Sam. I. 15).

32. In the Samhitā-text, 's', if preceded by 'pṛthivi', 'divi', 'upari', 'carṣaṇi', 'śakuni', and 'yāsi', is not liable to any change (III. 84).

E.g., *Pṛthivī sadantvā* (Sam. IX. 2).

Divisadam (Sam. IX. 2).

Upari sado duvasvantaḥ (Sam. IX. 36).

Carṣaṇisaḥāṁ vettu (Sam. XXVIII. 1).

Śakuni sādēna (Sam. XXV. 3).

Ava yāsisiṣṭhāḥ (Sam. XXI. 3).

33. The 's' of 'stabhāna' is elided, if preceded by the preposition 'ut' (IV. 98).

E.g., *Ut stabhāna > jyotiṣā divam uttabhāna*
(Sam. XVII. 72).

34. The 's' of 'stha' changes into 't', if preceded by 'āsva', if it is a samjñā (IV. 99).

E.g., *Āsvatthe vo niṣadanam* (Sam. XII. 79).

Counter illustration:

Āsvasthaḥ puruṣaḥ.

35. The words 'śāssva' and 'rāssva' contain two 's' letters (IV. 145).

E.g., *Ā ca śāssvā ca* (Sam. XXI. 61).

Rāssve yat somā (Sam. IV. 16).

56. H.

1. By the rule IV. 100, the first letter of a group preceded by a vowel undergoes duplication. But in the case of 'h' it is not doubled, but its next consonant undergoes the duplication (IV. 101).

E.g., *Bāhvvoḥ* (Sam. XXIV. 1).

2. The letter 'h' which is preceded by a third letter of a mute-series (which is a change of the first four letters of each series IV. 118) changes into the fourth letter of its series (IV. 122).

E.g., *Ut harṣāya > uddharṣāya*

(Sam. XVII. 42).

Avāt havyāni > avāḍḍhavyāni

(Sam. XIX. 66).

3. According to preceptor Jātūkarnya, the letter 'h' followed by 'r' does not undergo the above change (IV. 123).

E.g., *Samamusrot hrdaḥ > samamusrod hrdaḥ*

(Sam. XVIII. 58).

Counter illustration:

Samamusroddhrdaḥ (Sam. XVIII. 58).

57. JIHVĀMŪLIYA

Note: There is no rule applicable to this consonant.

58. UPADHMĀNĪYA.

Note: There is no rule applicable to this consonant.

59. ANUSVĀRA.

1. The preceptor Aupaśavi thinks that the augment anusvāra comes between the letter 'n' and the following vowel (III. 132).

E.g., *Mahān indrah* > *mahām indro vajrah-astah* (Sam. XXVI. 10).

Svān aham > *svām aham* (Sam. XI. 82).

Śatrūn apā jahi śatrūn rapa mṛdho nuda-sva (Sam. VII. 37).

Counter illustration:

Gavayān tvaṣṭre > *gavayāms tvaṣṭre*
(Sam. XXIV. 28).

2. The preceptor Aupaśavi thinks, that the augment anusvāra comes between the letter 'n' and the following consonant also (III. 133).

E.g., *Pluṣhī cakṣuṣe* > *pluṣhīmś cakṣuṣe*
(Sam. XXIV. 29).

Gavayān tvaṣṭre > *gavayāms tvaṣṭre*
(Sam. XXIV. 28).

3. The anusvāra which is the first letter of a group is not doubled (IV. 109).

E.g., *Imāṁstanam* (Sam. XVII. 87).

Somānam svaranam (Sam. III. 28).

4. The anusvāra is not doubled, if a savarna letter follows (IV. 110).

E.g., *Sam yaumi* > *saṁyyaumi* (Sam. I. 22).

Sam vapāmi > *saṁvvapāmi*
(Sam. I. 21).

60. NĀSIKYA.

Note: There is no rule applicable to this consonant.

61. VISARJANIYA.

1. Visarjanīya changes into 'ś', if followed by 'e' or 'ch' (III. 7).

E.g., *Vājah ca me > vājaś ca me*

(Sam. XVIII. 1).

Asrīvayah chandah asrīvayaś chandah

(Sam. XIV. 18).

2. Visarjanīya changes into 's', if followed by 't' or 'th' (III. 8).

E.g., *Ākhuḥ te paśuḥ > ākhus te paśuḥ*

(Sam. III. 57).

Namah te rudra > namas te rudra

(Sam. XVI. 1).

Note: For 'th', illustration is hardly procurable from the text.

Kaḥ thakārah > kashthakārah.

3. According to Śākaṭāyana, visarjanīya changes into 'ś', 'ṣ' and 's', if followed by 'ś', 'ṣ' and 's' respectively (III. 9).

E.g., *Āśuḥ śisānah > āśuś śisānah*

(Sam. XVII. 33).

Aditiḥ ṣoḍaśākṣareṇa > aditiṣ ṣoḍaśākṣareṇa (Sam. IX. 34).

Devo vah savitā > devo vas savitā

(Sam. I. 1).

4. According to Śākalya, visarjanīya is not liable to any change, if followed by 'ś', 'ṣ' or 's' (III. 10).

E.g., *Āśuḥ śīśānaḥ* > *āśuḥ śīśānaḥ*
(Sam. XVII. 33).

Aditiḥ ṣoḍaśākṣareṇa > *aditiḥ ṣoḍaśāk-
ṣareṇa* (Sam. IX. 34).

Devo vaḥ savitā > *devo vaḥ savitā*
(Sam. I. 1).

5. According to Śākalya, visarjanīya retains its own form, if followed by 'k', 'kh', 'p', or 'ph' (III. 11).

E.g., *Viṣṇoḥ kramah* > *viṣṇoḥ kramah*
(Sam. XII. 5).

Tataḥ khanema > *tataḥ khanema*
(Sam. XI. 22).

Deva savitaḥ prasura > *deva savitaḥ pra-
sura* (Sam. IX. 1).

Yāḥ phalinīḥ > *yāḥ phalinīḥ*
(Sam. XII. 89).

6. According to Śākaṭāyana, visarjanīya changes into jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya, if followed by 'k' or 'kh' and 'p' or 'ph' respectively (III. 12).

E.g., *Viṣṇoḥ kramah* > *viṣṇo* \asymp *kramah*
(Sam. XII. 5).

Tataḥ khanema > *tata* \asymp *khanema*
(Sam. XI. 22).

Vasoḥ pavitram > *vaso* > *pavitram*
(Sam. I. 2).

Yāḥ phalinīḥ > *yā* > *phalinīḥ*
(Sam. XII. 89).

7. Visarjanīya is elided, if followed by 'ś', 'ṣ', or 's', which are followed by any one of the first two letters of each mute-series (III. 13).

E.g., *Andhaḥ stha* > *andhastha*
(Sam. III. 20).

Sthālībhiḥ sthālīḥ > *sthālībhisthālīḥ*
(Sam. XIX. 27).

Counter illustration:

Svasti naḥ tārksyaḥ > *svasti naḥ tārksyaḥ* (Sam. XXV. 19).

8. The visarjanīya of 'pīvaḥ' is elided, if followed by 'upavasana' (III. 14).

E.g., *Pīvaḥ upavasanānām* > *pīvopavasanānām*
(Sam. XXI. 43).

9. The visarjanīya of 'saḥ' is elided, if followed by 'oṣadhī' or 'īma' (III. 15).

E.g., *Saḥ oṣadhīḥ* > *saṃoṣadhīḥ* (Sam. XII. 36).

Saḥ imām > *semām no'havyadātīm*
(Sam. XXIX. 54).

10. The visarjanīya of 'saḥ' is dropped, if followed by consonants (III. 16).

E.g., *Saḥ naḥ* > *sa no bodhi* (Sam. III. 26).

Saḥ jāyase > *sa jāyase* (Sam. XV. 28).

Counter illustration:

Saḥ agnih (Sam. XV. 42).

11. The visarjanīya of 'syah' and 'eṣah' is dropped, if a consonant follows (III. 17).

E.g., *Syah rātthyaḥ* > *sya rātthyo vrṣā*
(Sam. XXII. 13).

Syah vāji > *eṣa sya vāji kṣipanim*
(Sam. IX. 14).

Eṣah cchāgaḥ > *eṣa cchāgaḥ*
(Sam. XXV. 26).

12. The visarjanīya changes into 's', if followed by 'k' or 'p' (III. 21).

Note: For example see rule III. 23 under 14.

13. Visarjanīya, which has a bhāvi ('i', 'ī'; 'u', 'ū'; 'r', 'ṛ'; 'l', 'ḷ'; 'e', 'ai'; 'o', 'au'), has its penultimate letter changed into 'ṣ' (III. 22).

Note: For example see rule III. 23 under 14.

14. The visarjanīya of 'āviḥ', 'niḥ', 'iḍaḥ', 'iḍāyāḥ', 'vasatiḥ', and 'varivah' changes into 's' and 'ṣ' according to circumstance (yathāyogam) (III. 23).

E.g., *Āviḥ kṛṇuṣva* > *āviṣkṛṇuṣva*
(Sam. XIII. 13).

Aṃba niṣparasam (Sam. VI. 36).

Iḍaspade samidhyase (Sam. XV. 30).

Iḍāyāspadam asi (Sam. IV. 22).

Varivaskṛṇotu (Sam. V. 37).

15. The visarjanīya of 'divaḥ' changes into 's', if not followed by 'kakut' or 'pṛthivī' (III. 24).

E.g., *Divāḥ putrāya* > *divas putrāya*
(Saṃ. IV. 35).

Divasprṣṭhe vyacasvatīm (Saṃ. XV. 65).

Divasprṣṭhe jyotiṣmatīm (Saṃ. XV. 58).

Counter illustration:

Agnir mūrdhā divaḥ kakut (Saṃ. III. 12).

Divāḥ pṛthivyāḥ (Saṃ. XXIX. 53).

16. The visarjanīya of 'rāyaḥ' and 'sahasah' changes into 's', if followed by 'poṣa' and 'putra' respectively (III. 25).

E.g., *Rāyaḥ poṣeṇa* > *rāyaspoṣeṇa*
(Saṃ. IV. 22).

Sahasah putrah > *sahasasputro adbhutah*
(Saṃ. XI. 70).

17. The visarjanīya of 'tamaṣaḥ' changes into 's', if not followed by 'parastāt' (III. 26).

E.g., *Tamaṣaḥ pāram* > *tamasaspāram*
(Saṃ. XII. 73).

Counter illustration:

Ādityavarṇam tamaṣaḥ parastāt
(Saṃ. XXXI. 18).

18. The visarjanīya of 'tapasaḥ' changes into 's', if followed by 'pṛthivyām' (III. 27).

E.g., *Tapasas pṛthivyām* (Saṃ. XXXVII. 16).

19. The visarjanīya of 'adhvanah', 'rajasah', 'riṣah' and 'sprśah' changes into 's', if followed by 'pāti' (III. 28).

E.g., *Adhvanah pātu > adhvanas pātu*
(Sam. IV. 19).

Rajasah pāti > rajasas pāty antau
(Sam. XVII. 60).

Riṣah pāhi > riṣas pāhi (Sam. III. 48).

Deva riṣas pāhi (Sam. III. 48).

Samṣprśas pāhi (Sam. XXXVII. 11).

20. The visarjanīya of 'adhvanah' changes into 's', if followed by 'kuru' (III. 29).

E.g., *Adhvanas kuru* (Sam. XXVI. 1).

21. In the same word: 'samāna-pada', visarjanīya changes into 's' and 'ṣ', if followed by 'k' and 'p' according to circumstances (yathāyogam) (III. 30).

E.g., *Śreyah kara > śreyaskara* (Sam. X. 28).

Bhūyah kara > bhūyaskara (Sam. X. 28).

Āyuh pāh > āyuṣpāh (Sam. XXII. 1).

22. If the preposition 'pari' stands at the end, the previous visarjanīya changes into 's' (III. 31).

E.g., *Oṣadhayah pari > oṣadhayas pari*
(Sam. XII. 91).

Counter illustration:

Tam agne hedah pari te vṛṇaktu
(Sam. XIII. 45).

23. Visarjanīya changes into 's' and 'ś', according to circumstances (yathāyogam), if followed by 'kaviḥ', 'karat' or 'kṛdhi' (III. 32).

E.g., *Vasuḥ kaviḥ* > *vasuṣkaviḥ* (Sam. XV. 36).

Yathā no vasyasaḥ karat > *yathā no vasyasaskarat* (Sam. III. 58).

Punaḥ kṛdhi > *punaṣkṛdhi* (Sam. IV. 14).

24. The visarjanīya of 'kṛṣīḥ' changes into 's', if followed by 'kṛdhi' (III. 33).

E.g., *Kṛṣīḥ kṛdhi* > *kṛṣīs kṛdhi* (Sam. IV. 10).

25. The visarjanīya of 'sadaḥ', 'dyauḥ', and 'namaḥ' changes into 's', if followed by 'kṛtam', 'pitā', and 'patha' respectively (III. 34).

E.g., *Sadaḥ kṛtam* > *sadaskṛtam*

(Sam. XIII. 8).

Dyauḥ pitā > *dyauspitā* (Sam. II. 11).

Namaḥ pathe > *namaspathe*

(Sam. XVIII. 54).

26. Visarjanīya changes into 's', if followed by 'pati' which is followed by a 'tālavya-svara' ('i', 'ī' or 'e') (III. 35).

E.g., *Vācaḥ patim* > *vācaspatim*

(Sam. VIII. 45).

Brahmaṇaḥ pate > *brahmaṇaspate*

(Sam. XXXIV. 58).

Vācaḥ pataye > *vācaspataye*

(Sam. VII. 1).

27. The above rule is applicable, if the word 'pati' is a pada (and not the part of a pada) (III. 36).

E.g., *Vācaspatim* (Sam. VIII. 45).

Counter illustration:

Yato jātaḥ prajāpatiḥ (Sam. XXIII. 63).

28. The visarjanīya of 'paruṣaḥ' will not change into 's', if followed by 'paruṣ' (III. 37).

E.g., *Paruṣaḥ paruṣas pari* (Sam. XIII. 20).

29. The visarjanīya of the following words will not change into 's' or 'ś'—'vājapatiḥ', 'vāsaḥ', 'edidhiṣuḥ', 'antaḥ pārśvyena', 'antaḥ pārśvyam' (III. 38).

E.g., *Vājapatiḥ kaviḥ* (Sam. XI. 25).

Vāsaḥ palpūlīm (Sam. XXX. 12).

Edidhiṣuḥ patim (Sam. XXX. 9).

Antaḥ pārśavyenogram

(Sam. XXXIX. 8).

Antaḥ pārśvyam mahādevasya

(Sam. XXXIX. 9).

30. The visarjanīya of 'ahaḥ' changes into 'repha', if followed by 'pati' (III. 39).

E.g., *Aharpataye svāhā* (Sam. IX. 20).

31. The visarjanīya of 'svaḥ' and 'dhūḥ' changes into 'repha', if followed by 'sām' and 'repha' respectively (III. 41).

E.g., *Svaḥ sām > svarṣām* (Sam. XXXIV. 20).

Dhūḥ sāhau > dhūrṣāhau

(Sam. IV. 33).

Note: Here the following 'dantya'—letter also changes into 'mūrdhanya' by the rule III. 40.

32. The visarjanīya of 'duḥ' changes into 'u', if followed by 'da' or 'nāśa' (III. 42, 43).

E.g., *Duḥ dabhaḥ > pari te dūdabho rathaḥ*
(Sam. III. 36).

Duḥ nāśaḥ > dūṇāśaḥ.

Note: Here the following 'dantya'—letter also changes into 'mūrdhanya' by the rule III. 40.

33. The visarjanīya of 'puraḥ' changes into 'u', if followed by 'dāśa' (III. 44).

E.g., *Puroḍāśair havīmśyā* (Sam. XIX. 20).

Note: Here the following 'dantya'—letter also changes into 'mūrdhanya' by the rule III. 40.

34. The visarjanīya of 'itaḥ' with its penultimate letter, changes into 'o', if followed by 'siñcati' (III. 46).

E.g., *Parīto siñcatā sutam* (Sam. XIX. 2).

35. The visarjanīya which is a riphīta or which bears a 'bhāvī' as its penultimate letter, is elided, and the penultimate letter is lengthened (IV. 35).

E.g., *Rurūḥ raudraḥ > rurū raudraḥ*

(Sam. XXIV. 39).

Matibhiḥ rihanti > matibhī rihanti

(Sam. VII. 16).

Prātaḥ rātriḥ > *prātā rātriḥ*.

Punaḥ raktam > *punā raktam*.

Counter illustration:

Pari no ruddrasya (Sam. XVI. 50).

36. The visarjanīya, which is a riphita or which bears a 'bhāvī' as its penultimate letter, changes into repha, if followed by a vowel or 'dhi'-letter (IV. 36).

E.g., *Agniḥ ekākṣareṇa* > *agnir ekākṣareṇa*
(Sam. IX. 31).

Prātaḥ agnim > *prātar agnim*
(Sam. XXXIV. 34).

Prataḥ indram > *pratar indram*
(Sam. XXXIV. 34).

Virurucuḥ vaneṣu > *virurucur vaneṣu*
(Sam. III. 15).

Savitaḥ vāmam > *savitar vāmam*
(Sam. VIII. 6).

Counter illustration:

Divo mūrdhā (Sam. XVIII. 54).

37. Visarjanīya, which is not a 'riphita' changes into 'y', if preceded by 'a' (IV. 37).

E.g., *Śvitraḥ ādityānām* > *śvitray ādityānām* >
śvitra ādityānām (Sam. XXIV. 39).

Indraḥ ekam > *indray ekam* > *indra ekam*.
(Sam. XVII. 92).

Yāḥ oṣadhīḥ > *yā oṣadhīḥ*

(Sam. XII. 75).

Yāḥ aṣṭalāḥ > *yā aṣṭalāḥ*

(Sam. XII. 89).

38. Visarjanīya, which is not a 'riphita', is elided, if it is preceded by 'a' and followed by 'dhi' (IV. 38).

E.g., *Ayakṣmāḥ mā* > *ayakṣmā mā*

(Sam. I. 1).

Śatatejāḥ vāyuh > *śatatejā vāyur asi*

(Sam. I. 24).

Counter illustration:

Mā hvār mā te yajñapatiḥ (Sam. I. 2).

39. The visarjanīya of 'bhūmiḥ' is elided if followed by an 'apr̥kta' 'ā' (IV. 39).

E.g., *Bhūmiḥ ādade* > *bhūmy ādade*

(Sam. XXVI. 16).

Counter illustration:

Bhūmir ā vapanam mahat

(Sam. XXIII. 10).

40. Visarjanīya, which is not a riphita, changes into 'o', with its penultimate letter, if followed by 'dhi' (IV. 42).

E.g., *Mātariśvanah gharmaḥ* > *mātariśvano gharmaḥ* (Sam. I. 2).

Counter illustration:

Punar manah (Sam. IV. 15).

41. The above rule is applicable even if the visarjanīya is followed by 'a'. (IV. 43).

E.g., *Vedaḥ asi > vedo'si* (Sam. II. 21).

Agre guvo'gre puvaḥ (Sam. I. 12).

Counter illustration:

Punar agne (Sam. II. 9).

Punar āyuh (Sam. IV. 15).

42. The visarjanīya of 'eṣaḥ' changes into 'o', if followed by 'ha' (IV. 44).

E.g., *Eṣo ha devaḥ* (Sam. XXXII. 4).

43. The visarjanīya of 'svaḥ' and 'ahaḥ' changes into 'o', if followed by 'ruha' and 'rātri' respectively (IV. 45).

E.g., *Svo ruhāṇā adhi nākam* (Sam. XI. 22).

Ahorātre (Sam. XXXI. 22).

Ahorātrās te kalpantām

(Sam. XXVII. 45).

44. There is no re-duplication to visarjanīya (IV. 114).

E.g., *Divāḥ kakutpatih prthivyāḥ*

(Sam. III. 12).

Yāḥ phalinīḥ (Sam. XII. 89).

62, 63, 64 and 65 YAMAS.

Note: There is no rule applicable to *yamas*.

LIST OF INFLECTIONS.

1. $a > a$; $-a > \bar{a}$; $-a$ elided; $-a$ absorbed by the previous e or o .

2. \bar{a} elided; $-\bar{a} > a$; $-\bar{a} > \bar{a}$.

3. $\bar{a}3 > \bar{a}3$.

4. $i > i$; $-i > \bar{i}$; $-i$ elided; $-i > y$; $-i > e$.

5. $\bar{i} > y$; $-\bar{i} > \bar{i}$; $-\bar{i} > e$.

6. $\bar{i}3 > \bar{i}3$.

7. $u > u$; $-u > \bar{u}$; $-u > v$; $-u > o$; $-u > au$.

8. $\bar{u} > v$; $-\bar{u} > \bar{u}$; $-\bar{u} > o$; $-\bar{u} > au$; $-\bar{u} > \bar{u}$.

9. $\bar{u}3 > \bar{u}3$.

10. r augment; $-r > r$ $-r > r$; $-r > ar$.

11. $\bar{r} > r$; $-\bar{r} > \bar{r}$.

12. $\bar{r}3 > \bar{r}3$.

13. l augment; $-l > l$; $-l > al$; $-l > r$.

14. $\bar{l} > l$; $-\bar{l} > al$.

15. $\bar{l}3 > \bar{l}3$.

16. $e > y$; $-e > ay$; $-e > e$; $-e > ai$.

17. $e3 > e3$.

18. $o > v$; $-o > av$; $-o > o$; $-o > au$.

19. $o3 > o3$.

20. $ai > y$; $-ai > \bar{a}y$; $-ai > ai$.

21. ai3 > ai3.
22. au > v; —au > āv; —au > au.
23. au3 > au3.
24. k augment; —k > kk; —k > g; —k > kh; —k > ñ; —k > kum (yama).
25. kh > k; —kh > kkh; —kh > khkh; —kh > g; —kh > kh; —kh > ñ; —kh > khum.
26. g > gg; —g > k; —g > kh; —g > ñ; —g > gum.
27. gh > ghgh; —gh > gggh; —gh > g; —gh > k; —gh > kh; —gh > ñ; —gh > ghum.
28. ñ > ññ.
29. c augment; —c > cc; —c > j; —c > ch; —c > ñ; —c > cum.
30. ch > chch; —ch > cch; —ch > j; —ch > c; —ch > ch; —ch > ñ; —ch > chum.
31. j > v; —j > jj; —j > c; —j > ch; —j > ñ; —j > jum.
32. jh > jhj; —jh > jjh; —jh > j; —jh > c; —jh > ch; —jh > ñ; —jh > jhum.
33. ñ > ññ.
34. t > o; —t > tt; —t > d; —t > th; —t > ñ; —t > tum.
35. th > thth; —th > tth; —th > d; —th > t; —th > th; —th > ñ; —th > thum.

36. $\bar{d} > l$; $-\bar{d} > \bar{d}\bar{d}$; $-\bar{d} > t$; $-\bar{d} > th$; $-\bar{d} > n$; $-\bar{d} > \bar{d}um$.

37. $\bar{d}h > lh$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}h\bar{d}h$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}\bar{d}h$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}$; $-\bar{d}h > th$; $-\bar{d}h > n$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}hum$.

38. $\bar{n} > n\bar{n}$.

39. $t > t$; $-t$ elided; $-t > l$; $-t$ augment; $-t > c$; $-t > tt$; $-t > ttt$; $-t > d$; $-t > th$; $-t > n$; $-t > tum$.

40. $th > th$; $-th > thth$; $-th > tth$; $-th > d$; $-th > t$; $-th > n$; $-th > thum$; $-th > ch$.

41. $\bar{d} > \bar{d}$; $-\bar{d} > \bar{d}\bar{d}$; $-\bar{d} > t$; $-\bar{d} > th$; $-\bar{d} > n$; $-\bar{d} > \bar{d}um$; $-\bar{d} > j$.

42. $\bar{d}h > d$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}h\bar{d}h$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}\bar{d}h$; $-\bar{d}h > d$; $-\bar{d}h > t$; $-\bar{d}h > th$; $-\bar{d}h > n$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}hum$; $-\bar{d}h > jh$; $-\bar{d}h > \bar{d}h$.

43. $n > \bar{n}$; $-n > n$; $-n > \acute{s}$; $-n > s$; $-n$ elided; $-n > h$; $-n > r$; $-n > y$; $-n > anusvāra$; $-n > l$; $-n > n\bar{n}$; $-n > \bar{n}$.

44. $p > pp$; $-p > b$; $-p > ph$; $-p > m$; $-p > pum$.

45. $ph > phph$; $-ph > pph$; $-ph > b$; $-ph > p$; $-ph > ph$; $-ph > m$; $-ph > phum$.

46. $b > bb$; $-b > p$; $-b > ph$; $-b > m$; $-b > bum$.

47. $bh > bhbh$; $-bh > bbh$; $-bh > b$; $-bh > p$; $-bh > ph$; $-bh > m$; $-bh > bhum$.

48. $m > anusvāra$; $-m$ elided; $-m > m$; $-m > \acute{s}$; $-m > s$; $-m > y$; $-m > v$; $-m > r$; $-m > l$; $-m > \bar{n}$; $-m > n$; $-m > \bar{n}$; $-m > mm$.

49. y elided ;—y>yy;—y>y;—y>ś.
50. r augment.
51. l>ll;—l>r.
52. v elided;—v>vv.
53. ś augment;—ś>ch;—ś>cc.
54. ṣ augment;—ṣ>ṣṣ..
55. s>s;—s>d;—s augment;—s>s;—s>t;—s>ss.
56. h>gh;—h>jh;—h>ḍh;—h>dh;—h>ph.
57. _____
58. _____
59. anusvāra augment.
60. _____
61. ḥ>ś;—ḥ>s;—ḥ>ṣ;—ḥ>h;—ḥ>jihvā-mūliya;—ḥ>upadhmāniya;—ḥ elided;—ḥ>r;—ḥ>u;—ḥ>o;—ḥ>y.
62. _____
63. _____
64. _____
65. _____

RULES FOR PRONUNCIATION.

Intervocalic double consonants.

1. In a word, if a consonant with its reduplication happens to be between two vowels, it should be pronounced as one letter with the suspension of the breath (IV. 142).

E.g., *Vyāttam* (Sam. XXXI. 22).

*Kukkuṭaḥ*¹⁴ (Sam. I. 16).

2. In the same manner the combined letters 'ai' and 'au' also should be pronounced as one letter with the suspension of the breath.

E.g., *Kasmai* (Sam. I. 6).

Tasmai (Sam. I. 6).

14. The observation that the intervocalic double *k* in *kukkuṭa* should be pronounced single is contrary to the *Caturthī Pārāśarī Śikṣā*'s rule, which prescribes double pronunciation, and indicates dialectic divergence. Vide *Śikṣāsamgraha*. Benares edition, p. 59. Siddheśvara Varman remarks as follows:

“As regards the pronunciation of intervocalic double consonants, the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* states that they should be pronounced as single—e.g., *Kukkuṭaḥ* should be pronounced as *Kukuṭaḥ*, *ḍattah* as *dataḥ*.

The author attributes it to the repression or *dhāraṇā* of the first consonant. And, as will be pointed out in the next chapter, the author's view is consistent with the predominant tendency for lax articulation of intervocalic consonants among Indian dialects. But, as will be shown presently, the strong doubling of intervocalic consonants in some of the modern dialects and the not infrequent traces of original doubling in literary records indicate that the view of the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* was not applicable to all the spheres of Sanskrit pronunciation. Vide his *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*. 1929, p. 100.

Rules regarding 'avagraha' or separation of the component parts of a compound—Kātyāyana has begun this śāstra with a view to describe the characteristics of Samhitā, pada, etc. Under the heading:

Samhitāyām (III. 1),

and beginning from the sūtra:

Padāntapadādyoḥ sandhiḥ (III. 3),

and

Kramāḥ smṛtiprayojanāḥ (IV. 181),

he has completely defined the characteristics of the Samhitā and krama texts respectively. By the sūtra:

Arthāḥ padam (III. 2),

the character of 'pada' also is defined. Beginning from the sūtra

Svaritavarjam ekodāttam padam (II. 1),

the rules regarding svara are also explained. The pada, according to this Prātiśākhya, contains a four-fold division; nouns (nāma), verbs (ākhyāta), prepositions (upasarga) and particles (nipāta). Their character is also defined by the author of the Prātiśākhya in the eighth chapter, which runs as follows:

“*Kriyāvācakam ākhyātam
upasargo viśeṣakṛt |*

*Sattvābhidhāyakam nāma
nipātaḥ pādapūraṇaḥ ||*”

The verbs are—*rakṣa*, *yaja*, *yaccha*, etc.; the prepositions: *pra*, *para*, *upa*, etc. mentioned as twenty in number in the sūtra VI. 24; and the particles: *vā*, *ca*, *kam*, etc., mentioned as fourteen in number in the sūtra II. 16. There are three kinds of nouns: (1) *kṛt* (a class of affixes used to form derivatives: nouns, adjectives, etc.); (2) *taddhita* (an affix added to primary bases to form derivative or secondary bases from them); and (3) *samāsa-kṛt* words: *yajñah*, *vedaḥ*, *yācñā*, *bhūtiḥ*, etc., *taddhita* words: *āgneyaḥ*, *vaiśvadevaḥ*, etc., *samāsa* words: *viśvakarmā*, *vimanāḥ*, etc. The *samāsa* is of four kinds: (1) *avyayībhāva*, (2) *tatpuruṣa*, (3) *dvandva*, and (4) *bahuvrīhi*.

The prominence in each of these *samāsas* is for *pūrva-padārtha* (the sense of the first word of the compound), *uttara-padārtha* (the sense of the last word of the compound), *ubhaya-padārtha* (the sense of both the words of the compound), and *anya-padārtha* (the sense of another word) respectively. *E.g.*—(1) *anurūpam*, (2) *vratapate*, (3) *agnīṣoman*, (4) *kṛṣṇagrīvāḥ*.

A table showing the classification of 'pada' is appended herewith.

Divisions of Pada according to the Śukla-Yajurveda-Prātiśākhya

PADA													
NĀMA:				ĀKHYĀTA.				UPASARGA.			NIPĀTA.		
				Taddhita.		Samāsa.							
Avyayibhāva.				Tatpuruṣa.		Dvandva.		Bahuvrīhi.					
(1) Para,	(2) Upa,	(3) Apa,	(4) Ava,	(5) Prati,	(6) Pari,	(7) Anu,	(8) Api,	(9) Ati,	(10) Adhi,	(11) An,	(12) Pra,		
(13) Yam,	(14) Nir,	(15) Dur,	(16) Ud,	(17) Ni,	(18) Vi,	(19) Su,	(20) Abhi.						
(1) Va,	(2) Ca,	(3) Kam,	(4) U,	(5) Cit,	(6) Samasmāt,	(7) Gha,	(8) Ha,	(9) Sma,	(10) Tva,	(11) Im,	(12) Māryāḥ,	(13) Are,	(14) Svit.

Note: Here the nouns are classified into three. But Uvvaṭa at the beginning of his *Mantra-bhāṣya* to the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, remarks that some have opined that the nouns are of five kinds. His text runs as follows:

“*Tatra nāma pañcaprakāram paṭhanti:*

‘*Dhātujam dhātujāj jātam*

samarthārthajam eva ca |

Vākyaajam vyatikīrṇaṇ ca

nirvācyam pañcadhā padam. ||’

(1) *Tatra dhātujam:* *randāruḥ, pacamānaḥ,*
yajamānaḥ. |

(2) *Dhātujāj jātam tadddhṛtapadam:* *āgneyaḥ,*
yājāmānam, daivyāya.

(3) *Samarthārthajam samāsah. Sa ca saṃ-*
kṣepataḥ catuṣprakārah, etc.

(4) *Vākyaajam:* ‘*krayasya rūpam somasya*
lājāḥ’, *ity atra somaṣya krayasya rū-*
pam lājā ity evam prāpte rūpaśabdena
vyavadhānam vyatyayaś ca.

(5) *Vyatikīrṇam:* “*anyatra prasiddham yat*
padatvena tatpratirūpakā ye varṇāś
tais sahocāryate yat tat. ‘Pāśvataḥ
śronītaḥ śītāmataḥ’ ity atra śītāmata
iti. ‘Tvam agne dyubhis tvam āśuśuk-
ṣanīḥ’ ity atrāśuśukṣanīḥ ity ity.”

Here, the two divisions *vākyaaja* and *vyati-*
kirṇa are additional.

Vaidikas (men well-versed in Vedas), when they recite Vedic passages, pronounce the compound words with avagraha¹⁵ (separation of the component parts of compounds), and it is only in some places. To understand this: in which place the avagraha must be adopted and in which place the avagraha must not be adopted, the author of the Prātiśākhya attempts in the fifth adhyāya. This fifth chapter contains 45 sūtras altogether. The first 23 deal with the rules, wherever the avagraha is needed. The remaining portion describes the places where avagraha is not used.

In the following places the avagraha is determined:

15. The rules related to 'padānta-sandhi' (euphony at the end of words) are applicable to the words with avagraha, under rule:

Avagrahāḥ padāntavat (I. 153),

which is an 'atideśa' (application by analogy or transference of one attribute to another). In pronunciation the period to separate the component part of a compound word is described by Yājñavalkya as half mātrā (half of the time required to pronounce a short vowel) which is as follows:

"Avagrahe tu yaḥ kālas tv ardhāmātrā vidhiyate."

The rules related to single words will not apply to the words which are with avagraha.

The sense of the word 'atideśa', is defined as follows:

(1) *"Atideśatvam nāmānyatra śrutasyānyatrānvayitvam"* or *"Atideśo nāma itaradharmasya itarasmīn prayogāya ādeśaḥ"*. (*Mīmāṃsā*).

(2) *"Anyatraiva prāṇitāyāḥ kṛtsnāyā dharmasaṃhateḥ | Anyatra kāryataḥ prāptir atideśaḥ sa ucyate ||*

"Gosadṛśo gavayaḥ" is an instance of 'rūpātideśa' or analogy.

(i) If a word (except the word *dakṣiṇa*) is followed by 'tara' or 'tama', which is in the sense of 'atīśaya' or excellence,

(ii) if a word, which contains many words in radical or crude form (*prakṛti*) is compounded with the last word, which has subsequently come to join in the compound,

(iii) if a word, which possesses the euphonic changes according to the rules of grammarians, is followed by a '*taddhita*'-suffix, which is in the sense of a 'matup' or by 'vati-pratyaya',

(iv) if a word contains a suffix in the form of the letter 'ya', which possesses the meaning of the root (*dhātū*), and preceded by a vowel,

(v) if a word contains the case suffixes beginning with the letter 'bha', and preceded by short vowels or consonants,

(vi) the compound, in which the words meaning colour (*varṇa*) and number (*saṃkhyā*) are compounded (optional), and

(vii) if a verb contains a preposition which is in the grave accent.

Illustrations are given below:

(i) *Vanhitamam iti vanhi—tamam. Śasni-
tamam iti sasni—tamam*

(Sam. I. 8).

(ii) *Prajāpatigrhītayeti prajāpati—grhītayā*

(Sam. XIII. 39).

(iii) *Madhumad iti madhu—mat*

(Sam. XIII. 26).

Hiranyavad iti hiranya—vat

(Sam. VIII. 57).

(iv) *Vṛṣāyamāṇaḥ: vṛṣāyamāṇa iti vṛṣā—
yamāṇaḥ* (Sam. XX. 39).

(v) *Takṣābhya iti takṣā—bhyah*

(Sam. XVI. 27).

(vi) *Karakandhurohita iti karkandhu—
rohitah* (Sam. XXIV. 2).

Pañcadaśeti pañca—daśa

(Sam. XVIII. 24).

(vii) *Upastrṇantīty upa-strṇanti*

(Sam. XXV. 37).

In addition to these rules, in sūtra, V. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23, the avagraha is determined to some particular words.

In the following places the avagraha is prohibited:

(i) The words which possesses the omission of a portion of dhātu or root.

(ii) The words containing (a) general doubts, (b) doubts regarding their roots, and (c) doubts regarding their beginning.

(iii) The words possessing anusvāra as an augment.

(iv) The words bearing anusvāra as their penultimate letter.

(v) The words possessing the omission of a portion of prepositions.

(vi) The words, the composition of which (compound) is not permitted by the rules of grammar.

(vii) The words compounded with the particle 'nañ', which means negation.

(viii) The words compounded with the above particle, which is followed by the vowel 'a'.

(ix) The words contain 'dvā' at the beginning.

(x) The words compounded with the words meaning number at their beginning, and preceded by the word 'dvā'.

(xi) The words which are in 'dvandva-samāsa' and in dual number, compounded with a word at the beginning, which has a vowel at the end of it.

Uvvaṭa, the author of the *Prātiśākhya-bhāṣya* extracts a *kārikā*, in his commentary on *sūtra* (V. 45), which briefly mentions the places, in which the *avagraha* is disallowed, and it is given below:

“*Ādimadhyāntaluptāni
samāsanyāyabhāñji ca |
Nāvagr̥hanti kavayaḥ
padāny āgamavanti ca ||*”

The subject of this verse does not touch all the rules stated above. The examples for the above general rules are given below:

(i) *Parittah* (Sam. IX. 9).¹⁶

Avattānām (Sam. XXI. 43).¹⁷

Sagdhīḥ (Sam. XVIII. 9).¹⁸

Note: In these words a portion of the root is omitted.

(ii) (a) (1) *Pāntrān*.

(2) *Uddrah*.

(3) *Abbhrāya*.

Note: The doubt is (1) whether the word is a combination of the roots 'paṅkti' and 'trāyati', or 'pā' and 'tanoti'; (2) 'ut' and 'dravati', or 'ut' and 'rāti'; (3) and 'ap' and 'bibhrati', or has come from 'abhṛati' itself.

(b) *Suvitāya*¹⁹ (Sam. XV. 29).

Note: The doubt is, whether the word 'suvitāya' has come from the meaning 'su itāya' or 'sugatāya'. 'Su itāya' means 'sutāya'; 'sugatāya' means 'prajāyati' or 'prasavitre', or 'aiśvaryāya'.

(c) *Uttamḥhanam* (Sam. IV. 36).

16. The root of the word is 'dāṇ' with the preposition 'pari'. It means 'paridattah'.

17. The same root with the preposition 'ava', and it means 'avadattānām'.

18. The original form of the word is 'sajagdhī'. The doubt is whether it is derived from the root 'jayi kṣaye' or from 'jñā'.

19. The formation of this word can be derived from the roots 'śūṣa prāṇigarbhavimocane' and 'śu prasavaishvaryayoh', which means 'prasavitre' and 'aiśvaryāya' respectively. Some

Note: Pāṇini determines pūrva-rūpa (the first of two concurrent letters: vowels and consonants, 'that is retained') to the letter 'sa' of the word 'staṃbha', which is preceded by the preposition 'ut'. Some other grammarians have determined the omission of 'sa'. So in this compound the beginning of the last word is doubtful.

(iii) *Samskṛtam* (Saṃ. IV. 34).

Samskṛtiḥ (Saṃ. VII. 14).

Māṃspacanyāḥ (Saṃ. XXV. 36).

Note: According to Kāṇvas in these words anusvāra has come as an augment. According to Mādhyandinas there is no augment of anusvāra here.

(iv) *Samskṛtam* (Saṃ. IV. 34).

Samskṛtiḥ (Saṃ. VII. 14).

Māṃspacanyāḥ (Saṃ. XXV. 36).

Note: According to Mādhyandinas (Vājasaneyin) these words possess anusvāra as their penultimate letter. The original form of the third word is *māṃsapacanī*. The letter 'a' is dropped under rule:

Alopo māṃspacanyāḥ (IV. 41).

(v) *Iṣkṛtiḥ* (Saṃ. XII. 74).

Ugaṇābhyaḥ (Saṃ. XVI. 24).

others have opined that the meaning of the word is 'suhutāya'. If so the derivation must be formed from the root 'hu dānādānayoḥ' or 'o hāk tyāge'.

Note: In these two words portions of their prepositions: 'n' and 't', are dropped.

(vi) *Dityauhī*.

Viṣṭarah.²⁰

Note: The compound form of the first word is not permitted by rules. Under rule:

Uvarṇa okāram (IV. 58),

only 'o' is eligible and not 'au'. So it is anyā-yasamāsa. In the second word the 'ṣ' is ungrammatical. Even the authors of pada text do not pronounce the word with 'ṣ'.

(vii) *Arakṣasā* (Sam. XI. 21).

Anirāḥ (Sam. XI. 44).

Note: Here the words are compounded with 'nañ', which mean 'na rakṣasā and 'na irāḥ'.

(viii) *Anātatāya* (Sam. XVI. 14).

Note: Here, the particle 'nañ' is followed by a short 'a'.

(ix) *Dvādaśa* (Sam. XVII. 25).

Dvāvīmśaḥ (Sam. XIV. 28).

Dvātriṃśat (Sam. XVII. 25).

(x) *Aṣṭadhā* (Sam. VIII. 55).

Katidhā (Sam. XXIII. 50).

20. Kārāvas and Mādhyandinas pronounce this word with avagrāha, with a view to get śakāra augment.

(xi) *Mitrāvaruṇā* (Sam. VII. 8).

Indrāgnī (Sam. VII. 30).

In addition to these general rules in sūtra V. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37 and 41, the avagraha is prevented to some other compound words also.

In this chapter, in many places, the author of the Prātiśākhya mentions the subject related to grammar.

For many rules the commentator gives illustrations from pada text also. See sūtras, V. 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 29, 37 and 42. In two places (*jigivāṃsam*, V. 11, and *rkṣu*, V. 14), he has illustrated from the texts belonging to other schools or Śākhās.

The term 'avagraha'—Prof. Whitney applies the word 'avagraha' to the sign -ṣ- which is occasionally used in manuscripts, and commonly in the Devanāgarī printed works, to mark the elision of initial 'a' after final 'e' or 'o'.

E.g., तेऽब्रुवन् । सोऽब्रवीत् etc

But it seems to be exceedingly doubtful whether this word which means separator, and is usually employed to indicate the separation of the component parts of a compound word, can be taken to signify the mark -ṣ- which denotes the dropped 'a'. It is proper to use the word 'praśleṣa' or 'akāra-praśleṣa' to the sign .ṣ-, and the sign may

be called 'praśleṣa-cinha'.²¹ Generally there is no specified sign to 'avagraha'. But in modern printed books, the separation of the component parts of compounds are shown in different modes:

- (1) *Sasnitamam iti sasni-tamam.*
- (2) *Vanhitamam iti vanhi|tamam.*
- (3) *Madhumad iti madhu|mat.*

In these places three different marks signify the 'avagraha'. So it can be assumed that such marks denote the term 'avagraha' only and not the 'praśleṣacinha'. Even now the Panditclass wrongly uses the word 'avagraha' to indicate 'praśleṣa'.

Duplication and triplication of letters—The last six sūtras of the sixth adhyāya describe some of the euphonic combinations.

Among these, the first (VI. 25) denotes the beginning of the section under heading Dvi-sparśa (double mutes). The second, treats of the formation of two sparśa in some words. The third and fourth exempt the above rule in some places. The fifth treats of the formation of three sparśa letters in some places. The sixth falls under the second, but it is related to anunāsika letters.

21. The word 'cinha' is pronounced as 'cihna' also. Both these forms are correct as per rule,

“*Nāsikyaś ca urasyaś ca pañcamas saha yogatah, hakārasya.*”

E.g., *Siṃha*—*sihma*, *brāhmaṇa*—*brāmhaṇa*, etc. Generally South Indians adopt the former method, and the North Indians the latter.

The following are the illustrations for the duplication and triplication of sparśa letters:

(1) *Vittvā gātum* (Sam. II. 21).

Note: Here two 't' and one 'v' are combined.

(2) *Divam uttabhāna* (Sam. XVII. 72).

Note: Here three 't' are combined.

(3) *Sam barhir anñktām* (Sam. II. 22).

Note: Here two anunāsika letters are combined.

Euphonic combinations of word-endings with the following 'iti'—The subject-matter of the chapter seven falls under the heading '*padāvasāna*'. The combination to the endings of the words with the first letter of the following word '*iti*' is described here:

“*Padāvasānāny adhikṛtāni veditavyāni.
Padāntasya itikaraṇasyādeś ca yas
sandhis sa ucyata iti yāvt.*”

All the rules of this chapter are related to two svaras: one is in the end of a word and the other is at the beginning of the following word (*iti*), and vyañjana and svara: vyañjana at the end of a word and the svara at the beginning of the following word (*iti*). The above fact will be very clear from a perusal of the illustrations given. As the rules are far from numerous they are exhibited here with examples:

(i) The letter 'a' short or long (which is at the end of a word) will change into 'e' (if it is followed by 'iti').

E.g., (1) *Yacchantām pañca. Pañceti pañca*
(Sam. I. 9).

(2) *Dravīṇasyur vipanyayā. Vipanyayeti*
vi panyayā (Sam. XXXIII. 9).

Note: This rule does not belong to the 'a', which is a pluta.

(ii) The letter 'i' will change into 'ī', and 'u' and 'au' into 'va'.

E.g., (1) *Paśūn pāhi. Pāhiti pāhi* (Sam. I. 1).

(2) *Aśvinā sūnṛtāvatī. Sūnṛtāvatīti sū*
nṛtāvatī (Sam. VII. 10).

(3) *Tava dyumnāny uttamāni santu.*
Santv iti santu (Sam. XXXIII. 12).

(4) *Abhiṣīñcāmy asau. Asāv ity asau.*
(Sam. IX. 30).

Some have opined that 'au' will change into a 'vivṛtti' (a hiatus).

E.g., *Abhiṣīñcāmy asau. Asā ity asau.*
(Sam. IX. 30).

(iii) The visarjaniya of a word, which contains short 'a', as its upadhā-letter (penultimate letter), and which must not be a riphita, will change into a vivṛtti.

E.g., *Sukram duduhre ahrayaḥ. Ahraya ity ahrayaḥ* (Sam. III. 16).

Note: This rule does not belong to riphita-letters (?).

E.g., *Sataś ca yonim asataś ca vivaḥ. Var iti vaḥ.* (Sam. XIII. 3).

(iv) The visarjanīya of a word, which contains long 'ā' as its upadhā-letter, will change into a 'vivṛtti'. And at the end of words, the letter 'e', 'ai', 'pluta', and 'pragrhya' also will change into a 'vivṛtti'.

E.g., (1) *Yato jāto arocathāḥ. Arocathā ity arocathāḥ* (Sam. III. 14).

(2) *Mantram vocemāgnaye. Agnaya ity agnaye* (Sam. III. 11).

(3) *Ubhā rādhasaḥ saha mādayadhyai. Mādayadhya iti mādayadhyai*
(Sam. III. 13).

(4) *Bhuvanam āviveśā³. Viveśā iti viveśā⁴*
(Sam. XXIII. 49).

(5) *Anyānyā vatsam upa dhāpayete. Dhāpayete iti dhāpayete*
(Sam. XXXIII. 5).

(v) The visarjanīya of a word, and the word which contains a 'bhāvī' as its upadhā-letter (penultimate-letter), and the word containing a riphita-letter at the end, will change into repa.

E.g., (1) *Agnim īde pūrvacittin namobhiḥ. Namobhir iti namaḥ bhiḥ*

(Saṃ. XIII. 43).

(2) *Saddhryakkah. Kar iti kah*

(Saṃ. XXXIII. 59).

(3) *Sataś ca yonim asataś ca vivah. Variti vah* (Saṃ. XIII. 3).

(vi) At the end of a word, the letters 'ka', 'ca', 'ṭa', 'ta', and 'pa', will change into 'ga', 'ja', 'ḍa', 'da', and 'ba', respectively.

E.g., (1) *Pra mumugdhy asmat, Asmad ity asmat* (Saṃ. XXI. 27).

(2) *Samamṛtatvam ānaṭ. Anaḍ ity ānaṭ* (Saṃ. XVII. 89).

CHAPTER IV.

TWO SUPPLEMENTARY WORKS ON THE KĀTYĀYANA-PRĀTISĀKHYA.

I. Pratiññā-pariśiṣṭa.

This is the first of the supplementary works (pariśiṣṭa) of Kātyāyana. It is possible to decide that Kātyāyana wrote his works in the following arrangement:—first the Śrauta and Smārta sūtras, second the Prātiśākhya, and last the supplementary works, which are mainly known to be 18 in number. The Vedic portions, the uses of which in religious sacrifices are regulated in the Śrauta and Smārta sūtras, must be pronounced with the proper application of the rules of accentuation etc., otherwise it will lead to sin, and in support of this view, there is a familiar line pressing for sound pronunciation—*yathendrasatruḥ svarato'parādhāt*.

Perhaps after completing his Prātiśākhya, the sage Kātyāyana, as an after thought, describes some more rules regarding the indication of accents, methods of pronunciation, and some euphonic changes, which he had left out by oversight or some other cause, and which are indispensable to the oratorical study (adhyayana) of the Vedic text. But the later commentators have guessed otherwise about the origin of the present work. They say that Kātyāyana has written this

work only to define the rules belonging to the text of the Mādhyandina recension. If he had described these rules in the Prātiśākhya, they would have been common to all the 15 schools, because the Prātiśākhya is a work common to all those schools. The following sūtra of the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa* supports the above view:

“*Tasmin śukle yājñuṣāmnāye mādhyandinīyake mantre svaraprakriyā.*”

This argument of later authors is not at all acceptable, because even in the Prātiśākhya, Kātyāyana has indicated in several places the differences between the two recensions, Mādhyandina and Kāṇva; hence it was possible for him to include the subjects of the present work also in the same work.

The present work is divided into three kaṇḍikas or short sections. The first contains nine, the second eight, and the third five sūtras, respectively. These sections bear separate headings:

(1) Svaraṇ-prakriyā (section treating of the svaras);

(2) Uccāraṇa-vidhi (method of pronunciation); and

(3) Anusvāra-visargasvarāṇām vikārah (changes of anusvāra and visarga, and vowel lengthening).

Ānantadeva-yājñika has written a bhāṣya on this work, and the same was published at Benares in 1888 under the editorship of Paṇḍit Yugalakṣīraśarma, as an appendix to the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya*.

INTRODUCTORY.

SUTRA I.

Here Kātyāyana states the commencement of the supplementary work known as *Pratijñā*. This sūtra is termed 'ārambha-sūtra' or 'initial aphorism'. Here the commentator enters into a discussion regarding the meaning of the first word of the sūtra (*atha*), as is common among all commentators of early works. After etymologically describing the word 'pratijñā', he concludes the meaning of the sūtra in the following manner:

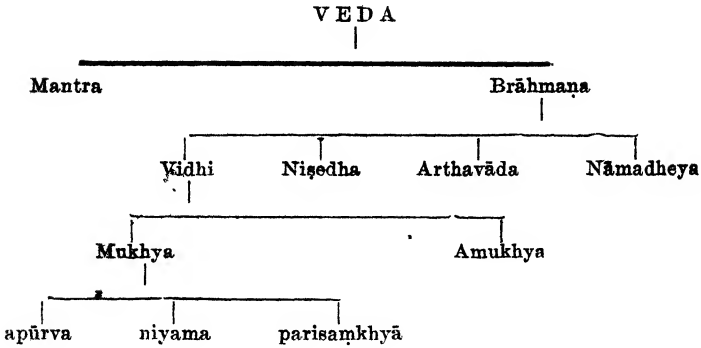
“ ‘*Ātaś copasarge*' *iti karmany aṇi pratijñānam pratijñā. Samadhigamye*' *the pratijñāśabdo bhākta ity āhuḥ. Yajjñānottaram adhyayanādīdharmanirūpitānām svarādīnām jñānam jāyate ataḥ pratijñā nāma sūtram vidhāsyate.*”

SUTRA II.

The subject-matter of this sūtra is the definition of Veda. The mantra and brāhmaṇa portions are called Veda. From this it can be understood that these are two main divisions of Veda.

The commentator explains the characteristics of mantra and brāhmaṇa in detail, with illustrations and mentions the four main divisions (*vidhi*, *niṣedha*, *arthavāda*, and *nāmadheya*) of brāhmaṇa with their sub-divisions, and applies them to Vedic passages. A table showing the divisions of Veda is appended herewith.

TABLE SHOWING THE DIVISIONS OF VEDA



Extracts from the Commentary:

“Vedo dvidhā mantrātmako brāhmaṇāt-
 makaś ca. Tatrādyah karmāṅgabhūtadr̥vyadeva-
 tāsmārakah. * * * Dvītiyaś caturdhā vidhiniṣedhār-
 thavādanāmadheyātmā. Ādyo dvividho mukhyo’-
 mukhyaś ca. Līn-loṭ-leṭ-tavyat-tavaipratyayo
 mukhyaḥ. Sa ca yajetetyādirūpaḥ. Vidyate cā-
 trāṃśadvayam—yajinirūpitam pratyayanirūpitam
 ca. Pratyaye’py aṃśadvayam ākhyātatva-līntvā-
 bhyām. Prathamam daśalaḍḍiṣu dvītiyam līntvam
 ca. Ākhyātatvalīntvābhyām bhāvanāvocyate. Ato
 līnādīnām bhāvanāvidhāyakatvena mukhyam vidhi-
 tvam. Tadyuktāni ‘svargakāmo yajeta’ ityādīni
 vākyāṇy api vijñātabhāvanāpekṣitāṃśatrayasā-
 pekṣakatvād viśiṣṭabhāvanānuṣṭhāpakatvāc cāmu-
 khyavidhir ity ucyate. Sa punas trividhaḥ—
 apūrvavidhiḥ niyamavidhiḥ parisaṃkhyāvidhiś
 ceti bhedāt. Tal lakṣaṇāni:¹

1. Here leaving the first two vidhis only the third is defined.

‘*Vidhir atyantam aprāptau
parisaṃkhyeti gīyate* |’ *iti.*

‘*Vrīhīn prokṣati*’.

‘*Vrīhīn avahanti*’.

‘*Pañca pañca nakhā bhakṣyā*’ *iti.*

‘*Aśvābhidhānīm ādatte*’ *iti.*

*Punar ādyas tridhā—viniyoga-prayogā-dhikā-
ravidhibhedāt. So’yām vidhiḥ pravartanātmakāḥ.
Niṣedhas tu,*

‘*Brāhmaṇo na hantavyaḥ*’,

‘*Na hiṃsyāt sarvā bhūtāni*’,
*ityādirūpaḥ. Arthavādas tu vidhistāvakaḥ praro-
canāviśeṣajanakaḥ.*

‘*Brahmavarcasīhaiva bhavati*’, *ya evam vid-
vān agnihotram juhoti*’ *ityādiḥ.*

*Nāmadheyam tu guṇaphalopudhānārtham.
Yathā—‘Agnihotram juhoti’ ityādiḥ.’*

SŪTRA III.

In this sūtra Kātyāyana proclaims his under-
taking to describe the section of accents
(svara-prakriyā) relating to the text of the Mādhy-
andinas of the *Sukla-yajurveda*. After narrating
the meaning of the sūtra the commentator begins
to prove by internal evidence also, that this treatise
belongs to the text of the Mādhyandina recension.
Then he elaborately describes the origin as based
on an ancient legend of the *Sukla-yajurveda*, in
different, slightly-modified versions in several
books.

The first two sūtras and the portions of the third, except the word 'svara-prakriyā' form the introductory portion of the treatise. Or if it is accepted that the 'svara' of the above word is a synecdoche implying 'saṃskāra' also, then all the three sūtras form the introductory portion, because the description of the 'section of accents' comes to a close by the first section (Kaṇḍikā).

KANḌIKĀ I.

SECTION OF ACCENTS (SVARA-PRAKRIYĀ).

After the first three introductory aphorisms there remain only six. These six fall under the above heading. Kātyāyana has termed this section svara-prakriyā, in a wider sense, but he treats of only the method of indicating the accents by hand.

SŪTRA I (=IV. from the beginning).

The grave accent should be indicated putting the left hand near the heart.

Even though the sūtra does not mention the word 'left hand', it can be understood from the general rule,

Hastena te (I. 121).

of the Prātiśākhya. Though there is no specification of the hand to be used, traditionally it relates to the left hand according to the rule,

“*Diśām anuktau prācī syāt*

tathā hastas tu dakṣiṇaḥ |”

Here, the commentator extracts many passages from the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* which are related to accents,

SUTRA II (=V.)

*The acute accent should be indicated at the head.

Here also the commentator extracts some corresponding passages from the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*, etc.

SUTRA III (=VI.)

The circumflex accent should be indicated at the root of the left ear. Here the commentator raises a doubt about the completeness of the present treatise, because no 'pracaya' accent is separately defined, and at the end he comes to the conclusion that it is not a separate accent, a view, which is supported by the words of Nārada and Yājñavalkya.

SUTRA IV (=VII.)

The different varieties of circumflex accent 'jātya', etc., are described in the *Prātiśākhya*.

The commentator reads 'pracaya' with the word 'jātyādi' thus making '*pracaya-jātyādi*'. He also describes the seven varieties with illustrations and corresponding passages from the *Nāradya* and *Yājñavalkya śikṣas* and denies 'tāthābhāvya' (which is the eighth according to some authors), to the *Vājasaneyins*. He, taking sufficient extracts from the *Mādhyaṇdina-śikṣā*, states, that in pada text the 'tāthābhāvya' becomes of the form of a tremor. The method of indication of these varieties is described in the sūtra;

‘Svaritasya cottaro deśaḥ prañihanyate’

of the *Pr̥tiśākhya*. Here, the commentator enters into some incidental descriptions which are not inevitable to the present subject.

SUTRA V (=VIII.)

In the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* there are only two accents, grave and acute, and they are termed ‘bhāṣika-svāra’.²

The method of indication of these two accents has already been described. The *Caraka-brāhmaṇa* contains three accents, the *brāhmaṇas* of *Khāṇḍa-kīyas* and *Aukhīyas* contain four accents in some places, and the *brāhmaṇa* of *Bāṣkala*, etc., contains one accent in the form of ‘tāna’ (mono-tone). Thus the accentuation of the Veda, which is in two forms *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, is defined.

SUTRA VI (=IX. from the beginning.)

The *Kalpa* works: *Śrauta* and *Smārta*, which are considered to be equal to ‘*echandas*’, possess the ‘tāna-svara’ (mono-tone). At first the commentator says that the rules of accentuation, *samskāra*, etc., are the same for *Vedāṅga* works also like ‘*echandas*’; but later, makes an exception, in the case of accents, saying that *Vedāṅga* works have only ‘tāna-svara’.

2. Etymology—“*Svarāv eva svārau. Svārthe aṇ.*” This sūtra is in the form of the description of the *Pr̥tiśākhya-sūtra* “*Dvau*”.

KANḌIKĀ II.

RULES OF PRONUNCIATION.

In the prefatory note the commentator observes that Kātyāyana begins this section with a view to describe some remaining' saṃskāras. Here, the word saṃskāra is used in a wider sense, but the section contains only the rules of pronunciation of some of the letters. These rules are enumerated with illustrations and sufficient explanations in the *Navāṅka-sūtra* (*Keśavī-śikṣā*), a minor treatise, which is described in the last chapter of the present monograph; hence their enumeration here will be a tautology. But, here an attempt is made to show the parallel rules of the *Navāṅka-sūtra* with the present treatise. The rules of this section 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7, correspond with those of the *Navāṅka-sūtra* 2, 1, 4, 8 and 3, respectively.

SUTRA I.

The commentary enquires why Kātyāyana has not included these rules of pronunciation in his Prātiśākhya. If he had done so these rules would have been common to the texts of all the schools of the *Sukla-yajurveda*. On the other hand, these are intended only for the text of the Mādhyandina school. If so, the sense of the name Prātiśākhya appears obscure, because the etymology of the word Prātiśākhya is,

‘Prati śākhāsu bhavam.’

The commentator replies to this as follows:

“Prati śākhāsu bhavam prātisākhyaṃ iti sambhavābhiprāyeṇa. Bahuvacanāntayogenāpi nirvāha ity āstām tāvat.”

To state that the letter ‘ya’ should be pronounced with the sound ‘ja’³, Kātyāyana has said in this sūtra *‘the first letter of antasthas should be pronounced with the sound ‘ja’*. There is no special value to this circumlocution. About this the commentator remarks:

“Atra lāghavād yakārasyeti vaktavye lipi-bhramāt sādṛśyād vānyasya yakārādikasya mā bhūd ity antasthānām ādyasyeti grahaṇam.”

SUTRA II.

This rule deals with the duplication. Here the duplication takes place only to the letter ‘ya’. In the *Navāṅka-sūtra* it is described to the letter ‘va’ also.

SUTRA III AND V.

In this rule (III) it is stated that the ‘repha’ should be pronounced with the sound

3. It will be interesting to note how the Vaidikaṣ have begun to pronounce the sound of ‘ja’ instead of ‘ya’. Both in the *Prātisākhya* and the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* it is stated that the letter ‘ya’ which is naturally ‘īṣatsprṣṭa’ will change into ‘sprṣṭa-prayatna’ if it is in the beginning of a word. This is a rule common to all texts of the *Sukla-yajurveda*. And this ‘sprṣṭa-prayatna’ by the equality of sthāna resembles the third letter ‘ja’ of the ca-mute-series.

of 'ekāra', if it is joined with 'ūṣman' letters and 'ṛ'. The *Navāṅka-sūtra* also describes the same rule, but without the pretext 'ṛ' (rule IV). The eighth rule of the *Navāṅka-sūtra* states the pronunciation of the letter 'ṛ' with 'ekāra', and the rule corresponding to this in the present treatise is the fifth.

SUTRA IV.

Here the pronunciation of 'l' with 'ekāra' is treated. There is no special rule for this in the *Navāṅka-sūtra*. But the commentary says that as both the letters are savarṇas, the rule of 'ṛ' can be applied to 'l' also, and gives the example:

Śatavalśa > Śatavaleśo.

SUTRA VI.

In this sūtra Kātyāyana narrates three kinds of pronunciation of the letter 'va', as 'guru', 'madhyama' and 'laghu'. In the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* also the letter 'va' is divided into three: 'guru', 'laghu', and 'laghutara'. There is nothing about this in the *Navāṅka-sūtra*.

SUTRA VII.

Both the works treat of the pronunciation of 'ṣa' as 'kha' with little difference.

SUTRA VIII.

At the time of adhyayana and arthajñāna (the time in which the meaning is to be understood)

these special rules do not apply, and the Vedic text should be read in its natural form.

Besides these, there are some additional rules in the *Navāṅka-sūtra*, which are not described in the present section. They are—

(1) duplication of 'va' and of the whole mute-series (rules I and VI),

(2) the change of the three kinds of anu-svāra into anumāsika (rule V),

(3) the denial of duplication of the letter 'sa' (rule VII), and

(4) vowel-lengthening (rule IX).

Among these items the second and the last are described in the next *kaṇḍikā* of this treatise. In this section the author of the treatise has described the rules in a perfect order. At first he considers the 'antastha' letters one by one, and he turns to 'ṣa'. But in the middle there is a rule (the fifth) which is related to 'r'.

KANḌIKĀ III.

THE CHANGES OF 'ANUSVARA' AND 'VISARGA' AND
VOWEL-LENGTHENING.

SUTRAS I, II AND III.

These three rules correspond to the fifth rule of the *Navāṅka-sūtra* which is related to anusvāra. Here, the anusvāra is classified into three, 'hrasva', 'dīrgha', and 'guru'. Among these there is no difference between 'dīrgha' and 'guru'. Thus this division seems to be inappropriate. To this the commentator replies:

“Vastutas tu guru-dīrghayor bhedo nāsti, tathāpy upādhibhedād bhedo mantavyaḥ. Asti cātro-pādhiḥ samjñābhedo nimittabhedo lipibhedaś ca.”

SUTRA IV.

After the pronunciation of 'visarga' there should be some interval.

SUTRA V.

This rule of vowel-lengthening agrees with the rule nine of the *Navāṅka-sūtra*.

This work is known as the *Pratijñā-sūtra*. This is edited and explained by A. Weber in A. B. A. (Abhandlungen der Bertiner Akedemie der Wissenschaften, Phil. histor. Klasse. 1871, pp. 69 ff.).

II. *Bhāṣika-pariśiṣṭa*.

The sage Kātyāyana has devoted his labours towards the writing of this supplementary work, with a view to describe the special rules of accentuation and saṃskāra, relating to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* only, because the characteristics of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* differ in many respects from those of the mantras. In the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* there are only two accents acute and grave, hence the general rules of the circumflex-accent should be modified as relating either to acute or to grave, or to any other form. In addition to this, there exist some differences between the mantra and the brāhmaṇa; and they are the differences of accent and of euphonic changes and combinations. The work contains three short sections or kaṇḍikas consisting of 22, 22, and 28 aphorisms respectively. The term 'bhāṣika' is used in two different senses, general and special. The general sense, which denotes this whole treatise, as is known from its title, is defined clearly by Paṇḍit Yugalakiśora-śarma in his *Pratijñāpariśiṣṭa-sūtra-bhāṣya-tippaṇī* (page 412, the *Śukla-yajur-prātiśākhya*, Benares edition, 1888). The same term is also specially used for a combination of accents defined in the third aphorism of the first section of this treatise.

The first section deals entirely with the differences in accentuation between the man-

tra and the brāhmaṇa, which determine the special features of the latter. The remaining two sections are devoted to describe the changes of the verb-word and some matters, which are related to the mantra and not to the brāhmaṇa, and which ought to be mentioned in the Prātiśākhya itself. There exists a commentary (bhāṣya) on this treatise by Anantadeva-yājñika; and it was published with the text at Benares in 1888 as an appendix to the *Śukla-yajurveda-prātiśākhya* under the editorship of Paṇḍit Yugalakiśora-śarman.

SECTION I.

In the first aphorism Kātyāyana sets about enunciating the rules of accentuation, etc., with regard to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, because in every respect the brāhmaṇa occupies the next place to the mantra. In the second, he declares that the rules of accentuation regarding the mantras have been already defined. The next aphorism explains that he expects from the student of his work a knowledge of the accentual rules regarding mantras, already laid down in the Prātiśākhya. The fourth and the fifth deal with the definition of the special term 'bhāṣika'. Bhāṣika is a term given to a combination of accents; the combination, which should be in the form of one letter (ekavarṇarūpa) of the acute-accent with the following grave one.

E.g., (1) *Bhāsā antarikṣam > bhāsāntarikṣam* .
(Sam. XVII. 72).

- (2) *Gahvareṣṭṭha ugram > gahvareṣṭṭhogram* (Sam. V. 8).

From this definition it can be inferred that

(1) the combination of two grave accents,
and (2) the combination of the grave accent with
the following acute,

should not be termed bhāṣika, nor should the term
be applied where no combination is effected.

- E.g., (1) *Buddhyasva agne > udbuddhyasvāgne* (Sam. XV. 48).

- (2) *Jātavedaḥ avāt > tvam agne īdite
jātavedo'vāt* (Sam. XIX. 56).

- (3) *Dhruvā asadan > dhruvā asadan*
(Sam. II. 6).

The next three rules the sixth, the seventh and
the eighth, are exceptions to the rules IV and V.
They state that the term bhāṣika should not be
applied to the combination:

(1) if it is preceded by the preposition
'ā' or 'pra', and at the same time followed by an
ākhyāta (verb-word),

(2-a) if it takes place in a compound-word
(samāsa) which is preceded by the preposition 'ā'
and 'pra' and not followed by an ākhyāta,

(b) if it is in a compound followed by
an ākhyāta, and

(3) if it is in a compound preceded by
a short 'a'.

E.g., (1) 'ā'—*Ā apprāḥ* > *ā prā dyāvāprthivī*
(Sam. VII. 42).

'prā'—*Prā ukṣāmi* > *prokṣāmi*
(Sam. II. 1).

Followed by an ākhyāta—

Pra arppayatu > *prār ppayatu*.
(Sam. I. 1).

(2) *Ā iṣṭtaḥ* > *eṣṭtā* (Sam. V. 7).

Here the samāsa is as follows:

“*ā samyak, iṣṭā* > *eṣṭtā*”.

(3) *Viśśva āyuh* > *sa no vviśśvāyuh sap-
prathāḥ*.

Sarva āyuh > *sa naḥ sarvvāyuh sa
pprathāḥ* (Sam. XXXVIII. 20).

In the first illustration before the 'bahuvrīhi' 'samāsa'—'*viśva āyur yasya*'—there exists a short 'a' joined with 'ś'. So the term 'bhāṣika' does not apply.

In the next three aphorisms (IX. X and XI), the term 'bhāṣika' is applied:

(1) to the jātya, abhinihata, kṣaipra, and praśliṣṭa, the four varieties of the circumflex-accent,

(2) to the 'ō' of 'uto', 'yo', 'mo', 'no' and 'so',

and according to some authors,

(3) to the 'omkāra' alone.

Explaining the last aphorism, the commentator says that according to the Kāṇva recension the 'omkāra' cannot be termed bhāṣika. He gives sufficient examples for all these rules. The object of this term will be very clear in the application of the remaining eleven rules of this section. These rules give detailed information about the differences of accentuation between the mantra and the brāhmaṇa. So they are very useful to a student of comparative study. The aphorism XII. prescribes an acute accent to the combination termed bhāṣika.

E.g., *Aryyamāyuh* (Sam. XVII. 70).

Bhāsāntarikṣam (Sam. XVII. 74).

In the next, it is stated that the circumflex and grave accents of the mantras will change in the brāhmaṇa into the acute.

E.g., Circumflex—*Vvāje vāje'vata*.

(Sam. IX. 18).

Grave—*Eṣa te ruddra bhāgaḥ*

(Sam. III. 56).

The rule XIV describes that whereas in a mantra two or more acute-accent may occur consecutively, that last acute, in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* in a similar case changes into a grave accent.

E.g., *Ā brahman* (Sam. XXXIII. 35).

Vrate tavānāgasō adītaye

(Sam. XXII. 22).

The next two aphorisms describe the changes of acute and circumflex-accents into grave. This rule holds only if the combination termed *bhāṣika* follows.

E.g., (1) *Citramāham vvr̥ṇe* (Sam. XVII. 74).

Herē 'ci' has become grave according to this rule.

Bhāsāntarikṣam (Sam. XVII. 72).

Here no change is effected because the preceding accent is grave.

(2) *Rāyaḥ preṣe > eṣṭā rāyaḥ ppreṣe bhagāya* (Sam. V. 7).

Rule XVIII relates to the 'abhinighāta' of the circumflex-accent. The next two rules prescribe 'kaṃpana' in the place of the circumflex-accent. The term 'kaṃpana' denotes a lower key than the grave.

E.g., *Yad evodety atha vasantaḥ*.

Dyām uta imām > sa dādhāra pṛthivīm dyām utemām.

Namo bhūtyai yedam cakāra.

The last aphorism states that one school of the *Sukla-yajurveda* does not accept this change of the final acute into the grave, and the commentary explains that, that is the school of the Kāṇvas, and gives the following illustrations.

E.g., (1) *Tassmād kuryād vaitasya puruṣasya bāhū.*

(2) *Rocanāsyā pprāṇād apānati*

(Sam. III. 7).

SECTION II.

This section relates to the change of the verb-word (ākhyāta-pada). The verb-word, which is not preceded by another verb-word should be accented gravely. This is the normal position of the verb-word, and all other positions are abnormal. But the rules of the change described here have reference to the mantra and not to the brāhmaṇa. This fact is stated only in the commentary of the first rule—

“*Athedānīm mantralakṣaṇasamāmnāye ākhyātapadavikaraṇā vyākhyāsyante.*”

It is not possible to find from the text of Kātyāyana the particular rules relating to the mantra and the brāhmaṇa. In this point we have to depend only on the words of the commentator, who, no doubt, tries to interpret the text faithfully but fails in a few instances, to make out a complete sense.

The first aphorism defines the author's object of dealing with the changes of verb-words. The next XVI rules define the conditions under which the verb-word undergoes alterations. The verb-word undergoes a change,

1—2. at the beginning of a sentence (arthādi?)
or a pāda,

3—7. if preceded by 'hi',⁴ 'hanta', 'net', 'kuvit', or 'aha',

8. if preceded by 'ca', if it is used as a cumulative conjunction or 'samuccaya',⁵

9. if preceded by an 'āmantrita-svara' which is an 'ādyudātta' (having an acute-accent at the beginning),

10, 11 and 12. if it has a sense denoting 'inquisitiveness', 'investigation' (vicāra), or 'restrictiveness' (avadhāraṇa),

13. if joined with 'yacchabda',⁶

14. if denotes a sense of viniyoga,⁷

15. if it is associated with an elliptical sentence, and

16. if preceded by a word, which determines the meaning of the verb-word.

E.g., 1. *Bhavaty ātmanā parāsyā dviṣaṇ bhrātrvyah.*

Santy eva ghr̥tastokā iva nvat.

4. The verb-word followed by 'hi' also will change. Vide illustration 3-b.

5. The particle 'ca' has four meanings. Vide *Siddhāntakau-mudā* on "Cārthe dvandvāḥ".

6. By the term 'yacchabda' all the forms are comprehended.

7. Here, according to the commentator, the term 'viniyoga' has a special sense. It means the beginning of a mantra, or the beginning of a word, which is the name of a deity (devatā). The commentary states:

"Viniyogo - nāma mantrādityadevatāpādādītvādīkaḥ." But this explanation appears to be inappropriate.

2. *Dadātu punar naḥ pitaro mano dadātu
daivyo janaḥ* (Sam. IX. 24).

*Aganmahi samvvarcasā payasā sam-
tanūbhīr aganmahi manasā samśivena*
(Sam. III. 52).

3. *Āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuvah.*
Indavo vām uśanti hi.

4. *Hanta te'nayā kātyāyanāntam kara-
vāṇi.*

Hantainam brahmaugham āhvayāmahe.

5. *Ned ati recanīti.*
Ned anyonyam hinasānīti.

6. *Kuvin me putram adhīd iti.*
*Kuvid aṅga yavamanto yavañcidyathā
dānti.*

7. *Nakṣatram āhāsya bhavati.*

8. *Śarma ca stho vvarma ca sttha iti.*
Sukṣmā cāsi śivā cāsi.

9. *Maghavan vandiṣīmahi.*
Agne naya.

10. *Katham asyaiṣā vasor dhārā samvat-
saram agnim āpnoti.*

Katham mahatokthēna sampadyate.

11. *Adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt.*
Katham kuryādi tvā yajñapathā.

12. *Yajeta haiva na hy anyad apakramaṇam
bhavati.*

13. *Vviśśvā yad ajayasprdhah.*
Yo'ssmān dveṣṭi yañ ca vayam dviṣm-
mah.
Yatrāṇiyudbhīh sacase śivābhīh.
Yatarā nau davīyah parā paśyat.
Yatano vai sampat tayoh parā jayate.
Yatadadyadasvati.
Yatarathā kāmāyate.
Yatamathā kāmāyate.
Yādrśad vai jāyate.
14. *Sa vā indrāgnibhyām upa dadhāti.*
Tūṣṇīm darbhastambam upa dadhāti.
15. *Atha prātar āgneyah puroḍāśo bhava-*
ty aindram sānnāyyam.
Dvāv uttarasyūm vedyām pādaḥ bhava-
to dvau dakṣiṇasyām.
16. *Śvath śvath śreyān bhavati.*

Here ends the 'ākhyātādhikāra' (the treatment of rules under the heading verb-word (ākhyāta). Five more aphorisms follow. They deal with the differentiation of opinion regarding the distance between the verb-words which undergo the change, and their pre-texts (nimitta), on account of which the verb-words change. The first of these states that the pretexts 'hi', 'hanta', 'net', etc., cause a change in the verb-word if it is not separated from the pretext by more than sixteen letters.

SUTRA 3.

When different varieties and forms of verb-words occur in the same sentence, the first alone is considered to be changeable.

E.g., 1. *Puruṣo ha nārāyaṇaṃ prajāpatir uvāca*
—*yajasva yajasveti*.

2. *Atha yaja yajaty evottarān āha*.

SUTRA 4.

When a number of verb-words bearing the sense of investigation and conjunction, occurs in the same sentence, the first verb-word is changeable.

E.g., Investigation—(vicārita) *Yajed ājyabhāgau jyā³ iti yajetā³ na yajaṭā³ iti*.

Conjunction (samuccaya)—*Śarma ca stho varmma ca stthaḥ*.

Śukṣmā cāsi śivā cāsi.

SUTRA 5.

According to Bhāradvāja, the verb-word associated with an elliptical sentence, and repeated for the sake of explanation, will not be changeable, if any reference to time or season is made in the sentence.

“*Nirvacane’nubandho vākyaśeṣo’vadhyarthaś cāvadhāraṇo na vikuruta iti bhāradvājaḥ*.”

Extract from the commentary—

“*Nirvacanam nāmārthasyānvākhyānam. Taç ca vidhirūpeṇa vānuvādarūpeṇa vā pūrvapadasthānām ity arthaḥ. Anubadhyata ity anubandhaḥ. Punaḥ punar āvartanam ity arthaḥ. Nirvacane'nubandho vākyaśeṣo yasminn ākhyāte tad ākhyātam na vikurute iti bhāradvājācāryo manyate. Tathā avadhyartho yo'vadhāraṇo yasminn ākhyāte dṛśyate tad api na vikriyate iti bhāradvājo manyate. Avadhir atra kālavīṣeṣa ucyate. Vinīyogo vākyaśeṣa iti prāptāpavādo'yaḥ. Krameṇodāharaṇāni.*

Devā dīkṣām nīraminādityai prāpaṇīyam ity are kṛṣyatī atheti. Bhāradvājoktir vikriyate vā. Vastājine puṣṭikāmam abhiśiñcet, kṛṣṇājine brhmavarasakāmam, ubhayor ubhayakāmam, iti prathamasyodāharaṇam. Dvītiyasyodāharaṇam yathā—

Evam eva mādhyandine savanagrhitā evaitasmād. acchāvākyaḥ yottamo graho bhavaty atha tṛtīyam vasatīyam vasatīnām avanayati”.

SUTRA 6.

‘Bhūyovādī’, ‘varīyovādī’, and ‘kanīyovādī’,—these three will not cause a change in the following verb-word. The etymology of these words is as follows:

- “(1) *bhūyo bahutaram vadatīti bhūyovādī,*
- (2) *gurutaram vadatīti varīyovādī,*
- (3) *kanīyo'lpataram vadatīti kanīyovādī.”*

Extract from the commentary—

“*Bhūyovādyādayaḥ param bhūtam ākhyā-
tam na vikurvantīty arthaḥ.*”

The meaning of this is not clear from the text. It is only stated that these three are considered to be ‘anavadhāraṇas’. The commentator explains the word anavadhāraṇa in the following manner—

“*Te bhūyovādyādayo’navadhāraṇāḥ. Ava-
dhāraṇakāryakāriṇo na syuḥ.*”

E.g., 1. *Tasya bhūyo bhūya eva tejo bhavati.*

2. *Paraḥ para eva varīyas tejo bhavati.*

3. *Kaṇīyaḥ kaṇīyas tejo bhavati.*

SUTRA 7.

Of the pre-texts already mentioned in the previous section, the one which has the sense of ‘parisamāpti’ will not cause a change in the verb-word. That is to say, of the many verb-words which occur near the above pre-text, only that which is associated with the sense of the pre-text is changeable.

Extract from the commentary—

“*Hyādīnām madhye’nyatama ekatamaḥ pari-
samāptyarthaś ced ākhyātam na vikaroti. Bahuṣv
apy ākhyāteṣu yenākhyātena sambadhyate tad evā-
khyātam vikaroti. Samīpasthitāny apy anyākhyā-
tāni na vikurvanti. Tasmīnn eva svasambaddhā-
khyāte parisamāptyarthatvāt.*”

E.g., (1) *Kim hi hared yad antarikṣam harāmi,*
divam harāmīti haret.

(2) *Hantāsyai pratisthām kalpayānīti*
sa striyam.

SUTRA 8.

‘Yama’ is a term denoting a word or its re-duplication. Of the Yamas which begin with vowels, the one having the least number of vowels or moras, should be sounded with the normal accent.

E.g., *Tad ekaikayaivemāmllokānt sa tanoti.*
Ekaikayaivemāmllokānt sprñute. Tas-
mād ekaikām evānavānam anu brūyāt.

Here the first ‘eka’ has less moras than the second. So it should be sounded in its normal form. The samāsa of the word is ‘ekā caikā ca’. Here, by the rule:

Striyāḥ puṁvad bhāṣita, etc., (Pāṇini).

the suffix ‘ṭāp’ of the former gets elided. Thus the former should be pronounced in one mora-time, and the latter in two.

SUTRA 9.

According to Bhāradvāja, if the word and its re-duplication beginning either with a vowel or otherwise, are equal in moras, the former will not be accented normally.

E.g., Beginning with vowel—*Upopennu magha-*
van.

Here the two ‘upa’ are equal in moras.

Not beginning with vowel—

(1) *Prappṛāyam agnih.*

(2) *Saṁsamid yuvase vṛṣan.*

Here also two 'pra', and 'sam' are equal in moras. So the first 'upa', and 'saṁ', are changeable.

SŪTRA 9.

In the Prātiśākhya, words are classified into four kinds (noun, verb, preposition, and particle). Their accentuation differs in brāhmaṇa (from that of mantra).

Now Kātyāyana begins to explain two rules of saṁskāra of the *Śatapátha-brāhmaṇa*, which are uncommon to mantras.

SŪTRA 11.

When the vowel ('a' short or long) originating from the throat, is joined with the following 'ṛ', and both of them are savarnaṣ, the result is 'ar'.

E.g., (1) *Yatkiñca ṛtuṣu > yatkiñcartuṣu kriyate ca.*

Here, the short 'a' is joined with the following

(2) *Tathā ṛṣiñām > tatharṣiñām tathā manuṣyāñām.*

Here, long 'ā' is joined with the following 'ṛ'.

Yadi ṛktaḥ > yadyrkto bhūr iti.

Here, as the throat-vowel is not joined with 'ṛ', this rule does not apply.

Tam ṛtavah.

Here, as the letters are not savarṇas the rule does not apply.

Sapta ṛṣin para ekam āhuh.

As this is a mantra portion, the rule does not apply.

SUTRA 12.

The letter 'v'; which is at the end of a word and which is preceded and followed by vowels, should be elided.

E.g., (1) *Dvau iti* > *dvā iti*.

(2) *Trayastrimśau iti* > *tryastrimśā iti*.

(3) *Vāyo iha* > *vāya iha*.

SUTRA 13.

The remaining rules should be understood from general scientific works (sāmānya-śāstra). The commentator explains the word sāmānya-śāstra as subsidiary Vedic treatise (vedāṅga), and Pāṇini's grammar.

SUTRA 14.

The literal translation of this aphorism is— 'the letters a, i, u, ṛ, and ḷ, are avarṇa-dhāraṇas'. The sense of the word 'avarṇa-dhāraṇa' is not interpreted well by the commentator. His meaning is that each of these letters are of 18 kinds.

Every diphthong-letter has its 12 kinds, because diphthongs have no short form.

SUTRA 15.

The Brāhmaṇas of *Tāṇḍins* and *Bhāllavins* are accented in the same manner as prescribed to the *Satapatha*.

In the next 9 aphorisms an elaborate explanation of the Prātiśākhya-sūtra “*sapta*” is given. They deal with the special accents related to the Sāma-veda.

SUTRA 16.

There are seven accents in the *Sāma-veda*.

SUTRA 17.

They are—ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata, and niṣāda.

SUTRA 18.

The organs producing them (are given below).

SUTRA 19.

The ṣaḍja is produced from the throat.

SUTRA 20.

The ṛṣabha is produced from the head.

SUTRA 21.

The gāndhāra originates from the nose.

SUTRA 22.

The madhyama originates from the heart.

SUTRA 23.

The dhaivata is produced from the forehead.

SUTRA 24.

The niṣāda is produced from the human body as a whole.

SUTRA 25.

The brāhmaṇa of *Caraka* contains accents like mantra: it has three accents: acute, grave, and circumflex.

SUTRA 26.

Among the *Carakas*, the brāhmaṇas of *Khāṇḍikeya* and *Aukheya* have four accents in some places, the fourth being 'pracita'.

SUTRA 27.

For others (Āśvalāyana, etc.), the brāhmaṇa-svara is prescribed. Here the commentator states that the brāhmaṇa-svara means mono-tone (tāna or ekaśruti).

SUTRA 28.

For the Vedāṅga and Upāṅga works the tāna-svara alone (mono-tone) is prescribed. The subsidiary Vedic treatises are—Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandas, and Jyauṭiṣa. The upāṅga works are—pratipada, anupada, chando-bhāṣā, etc.

Here ends the *Bhāṣika-pariśiṣṭa* of Kātyāyana.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER MINOR TREATISES ON THE SUKLAYAJURVEDIC TEXT.

In addition to the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya*, there are some minor works, describing the details regarding the accentuation, euphonic combinations and changes, the method of pronunciation, and related subjects of the *Sukla-yajurvedic* text. Of them 23 works have been hitherto published. To indicate their nature and merit, a short description of each of them is given below.

I. VASISTHI-SIKSA.

This work is based on the Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukrama*. Here the Rks (verses) and Yajus portions (sacrificial formulas and phrases), in each chapter of the *Sukla-yajurveda* are differentiated.

II. KATYAYANI-SIKSA.

Of the three accents, the circumflex is the most difficult. Here, an attempt is made to describe the characteristics of this particular accent, in the detached (pada) and combined (saṃhitā) texts. At the end, a short description of acute, grave, and pracaya accent-pitches also is found. There exists a commentary on this work by one Jayanta-svāmin. The text portion contains 13 kārīkās only.

III. PARASARI-SIKSA.

This work calculates the letters of each Kaṇḍikā (sub-section of chapters of the *Sukla-yajurveda*), and describes the method of their pronunciation. Here and there some euphonic rules also are stated without any order or arrangement.

IV. MANDAVYA-SIKSA.

Here, the labials occurring in each chapter are given with examples.

V. AMOGHANANDINI-SIKSA.

The words containing labials and dentals are enumerated here. The letters which appear in their short and long forms in the Saṃhitā; the change of a short letter into a long one, if it occurs in the pada text; the three different pronunciations of 'va' (guru, laghu and laghutara); the characteristics of nāda and nasals with examples; the five kinds of raṅga; the seven kinds of pluta; and the method of pronunciation of letters; are also described. The author of the *Prātisākhya-pradīpa-śikṣā* has stated¹ that this work is a supplement to the *Pratijñā-sūtra* (pariśiṣṭa).

VI. LAGHVAMOGHANANDINI-SIKSA.

This is a small treatise containing 17 kārīkās. The main topics are:

1. Vide *Śikṣāsaṃgraha*, Benares edition, p. 281.

- (1) Rules regarding the pronunciation of 'y'.
- (2) Rules regarding the pronunciation of 'v'.
- (3) Rules regarding the pronunciation of anusvāra in different moras.

The conditions under which 'y' is pronounced as 'j', those under which 'y' is sounded as īṣats-prṣṭa, and the anusvāra is pronounced in two moras; are defined with sufficient illustrations.

VII. MADHYANDINAMAHARSPRANITA SIKSA.

There is no sufficient evidence to identify the author of this work with the sage Mādhyandina, who is known as the preceptor of one of the Śākhas or schools of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*. The work begins with the well-known verse, which states that the mantra (Vedic verses) should be pronounced without any fracture or elision of accent-pitches and letters respectively.

*Mantra hīnas svarato varṇato vā
mithyāprayukto na tam artham āha |*

*Sa vāgvajro yajamānam hinasti
yathendraśatrus svarato'parādhāt ||*

The topics of the work can be divided under two main headings:

(1) Dvityaprakaraṇa (the section on the reduplication of letters).

(2) Galitarcānām nirṇayaprakaraṇa (the section on the repeated Ṛk-portions).

The first deals with the duplication of consonants in the combined text; and the second with the portions of Ṛks, which are known as repetitions, in each chapter of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*. These repetitions of Ṛk-portions have been estimated to number 1975.

“*Evam catuṣṣaṣṭyuttaraśatam lopāḥ, ekādaśottaram aṣṭādaśaśatais saha iti.*”

VIII. LAGHUMADHYANDINIYASIḶSA (DVITIYA).

This work contains 28 kārīkāś. The subjects described here can be classified under the following sections:

- (1) Sandhi-prakarāṇa.
- (2) Ayogavāha-prakarāṇa.
- (3) Indication of accents by fingers.

In the first section only some of the important euphonic changes are defined. They are:

- (1) The changes of ‘ṣa’.
- (2) The changes of ‘ya’.
- (3) The three kinds of ‘va’—guru (heavy), laghu, (light), and laghutara (lighter), and their application.
- (4) The alterations of ‘ṛ’ and ‘ḷ’.
- (5) Three kinds of anusvāra (hrasva, dīrgha, and guru) and their application.

Illustrations are also given. The second section begins with the sentence

“*athāyogavāhān āha,*”

but only the description of the mode of utterance of the visarga is to be seen. Generally the visarga should be pronounced like the hiss of ‘a serpent. But its pronunciation changes according to its environments; sometimes it is *kaṇṭhya*, sometimes palatal, *kaṇṭha-tālu*, and *kaṇṭhyoṣṭha*. Besides this, the visarga is uttered like ‘ha’, ‘hi’, ‘hu’, ‘he’, and ‘ho’, according to the context.

E.g., (1) *Āvo vas savitā* (ha).

(2) *Devīs tisraḥ* (hi).

(3) *Ākhus te paśuḥ* (hu).

(4) *Agneḥ* (he).

(5) *Bāhvoḥ* (ho).

The third section shows how the acute, the grave, the circumflex, and *pracaya* accents should be indicated by fingers.

IX. AMARESANIRMITA VARNARATNAPRADEPIKA

ŚIKSA.

The author of this work is one Amareśa, who belongs to the Bhāradvāja family. The work contains 227 *kārikās*. This work can be viewed as an epitome of Kātyāyana’s *Prātiśākhya*. But here all the themes of the *Prātiśākhya* are not dealt with. For instance, regarding the accentuation, only the general rules are defined. The author does not

follow the Prātiśākhya in the treatment of subjects, but he has adopted his own arrangement, which is as follows:

(1) Benediction and authorship 1—3.

(2) The oratorical study of the Vedic text which should be done only after understanding the rules of the accentuation and saṃskāra 4—9 (Prātiśākhya I. 1—4).

(3) Enumeration of letters, 10—17 (Prātiśākhya VIII. 1—20).

(4) Explanation of technical terms—jit, dhi, mut, kanṭhya, etc., 18—20 (Prātiśākhya I. 44—54).

(5) Enumeration of particular letters—la, lha, jihvāmūliya, etc., which are not used by Mādhyandinas, 21 (Prātiśākhya VIII. 33—34).

(6) Description of hrasva, dīrgha, pluta, aṇu, and paramāṇu, 22, 23 (Prātiśākhya I. 55—61).

(7) Description of sthāna, karaṇa, and āsyaprayatna. The āsyaprayatna is not described in the Prātiśākhya, 24—43 (Prātiśākhya I. 62—84).

(8) Pūrvāṅga-parāṅgacarccā, 44—55 (Prātiśākhya I. 102—106).

(9) Description of the nine letters—anusvāra, visarga, nāsikya, yamas, jihvāmūliya, and upadh-mānīya—which never occur independently. The pūrvāṅga-parāṅgacintā with regard to Svarabhakti (vowel-fragment) is also described here. 50, 52, 53.

(10) The three conditions of the human body —‘āyāma’, ‘mārdava’, ‘abhighāta’, conducting to the production of sounds. Different changes of the body, if the accentuation takes place, 88—90 (Prātiśākhya I. 31, 32).

(11) If udātta joins with anudātta or svarita the result is udātta. The combination is of six kinds:

(1) Anudātta+udātta>udātta.

(2) Udātta+udātta>udātta.

(3) Jātya circumflex+udātta>udātta.

(4) Udātta+pādavṛtta circumflex>udātta.

(5) Udātta+tairoyvyañjana circumflex > udātta.

(6) Udātta+tairovirāma circumflex > udātta.

These changes are explained with sufficient illustrations in 91—101 (Prātiśākhya, second chapter).

(12) Estimation of the relative strength of vowels, 102—105.

(13) Rules of saṃskāra, 106—214 (Prātiśākhya adhyāyas III, IV, VI, VII).

Here, in verses 177, 178, and 179, some euphonic combinations are compared with ‘ayaspīṇḍa’, ūṇāpīṇḍa’, ‘dārupīṇḍa’, etc. These terms are not mentioned in the Prātiśākhya. In the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*

they are defined² with examples. The verses 194—196 state that there can be one, two, three, four, or more words in a pāda (line of verse). This fact has found a place in the first chapter of the Prātiśākhya as one of the general subjects to be discussed, but here, it is interpolated among the rules of euphonic changes, which seems to be irrelevant (Prātiśākhya I. 157).

(14) Description of the colours and the presiding deities of letters, 215, 216 (Prātiśākhya VIII. 35—42).

(15) Classification of words (pāda), their presiding deities, and gotras (family or races), 217—219 (Prātiśākhya VIII. 47—55).

(16) Description of the caste, presiding deities, etc., of different accents and letters, 220—227.

X. KESAVI ŚIKṢA.

This small treatise contains nine sūtras with their commentary. The author of both the text and the commentary, is one Keśava, who was a great astrologer, and belonged to a family of astrologers. The text portion is otherwise known as the *Paribhāṣāṅka-sūtra*. This work deals with the changes of sounds of some of the letters, when they are

2. Vide *Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā*, verses 202, 203, etc. *Śikṣāsaṃgraha*, Benares edition, 1893.

pronounced. Each sūtra deals with a separate subject. As these subjects seem to be very important to phonologists, they are specified below:

(1) At the beginning of a word, the letters 'y' and 'v', if they are preceded by vowels or the preposition 'sam', should be sounded as double.

E.g., (1) *Tvā vāyava* > *tvā vvāyava*.

(2) *Kas tvā yunakti* > *kas tvā yyunakti*.

(3) *Sam vapām* > *sam vvapāmi*.

(4) *Sam yaumi* > *sam yyaumi*.

(2) At the end and in the middle of a word, the letter 'y' which is combined with the letters 'r', 'h', or 'r', should be sounded like 'ja'.

E.g., (1) *Sāmānyrgbhiḥ* (Sam. XX. 11).

(2) *Panibhir guhyamānaḥ*.

(3) *Ghṛtācī sttho dhuryau*.

(3) At the end and in the middle of a word, the letter 'ṣ' should be pronounced as 'kh', except, if the 'ṣ' is combined with the letters of ṭa-mute-series.

E.g., *Iṣe ttvā* (Sam. I. 1).

Counter-illustration:

Śreṣṭhatamāya (Sam. I. 1).

(4) At the end and in the middle of a word, if the letter repha is combined with the letter 'ś',

‘ṣ’, ‘s’, or ‘h’ which are not joined with any other consonants, it should be pronounced as ‘re’.

E.g., (1) *Pārśvyena* > *pāreśavyena*.

(2) *Śatavalśo* > *śatavaleśo*.

(3) *Hvārṣīt* > *hvāreṣīt*.

(4) *Barhiṣe tvā* > *barehiṣe tvā*.

Note: This rule is applicable to the letter ‘la’ also, because both the letters ‘r’ and ‘l’ are considered to be savarnaḥ. These two letters are very widely interchangeable in Sanskrit, both in roots and in suffixes, and even in prefixes. According to the rule,

“*Ādeśapratyayayoḥ*” (Pāṇini. VIII. 3. 59) the letter ‘sa’, if it does not end in a word, changes into mūrdhanya ‘ṣa’, if it is preceded by ‘in’—pratyāhāra (contraction) or ka-mute-series. Here (the third illustration) as the repha stands in the middle of ‘in’—pratyāhāra, the following ‘sa’ becomes mūrdhanya, hence the illustration is the same for both ‘s’ and ‘r’.

Counter-illustration:

Śirṣṇo dyauh.

In this example the letter ‘ṣ’ is joined with another consonant ‘ṇ’. So this rule does not apply.

(5) At the end and at the beginning of a word, the anuṣvāra is converted into anunāsika, if it is followed by ‘śa’, ‘ṣa’, ‘sa’, ‘ha’, and repha.

E.g., (1) *Prthivyām śatena*.

- (2) *Yajūmṣi nāma.*
- (3) *Sasṛvāmsam vṛājajitam.*
- (4) *Simhy asi.*
- (5) *Iṣāṁ rayīnām.*

Note: Generally the anusvāra is of three kinds. They are: short (hrasva), long (dīrgha), and heavy (guru). To determine which of these undergoes the above-mentioned change in any particular case, the following statement will be helpful.

(1) If a short letter follows, the preceding anusvāra is considered to be long.

(2) If a long letter follows, the anusvāra is short.

(3) If a combined letter follows, the anusvāra is to be considered a heavy one.

(6) At the end and in the middle of a word, the whole mute-series, if combined with 'śa', 'ṣa' or 'sa', which are already joined with 'r' or if preceded by visarga (surd-breathing) or by repha, should be doubled.

E.g., (1) *Askkannam adya.*

(2) *Puṣkkarasrajam.*

(3) *Agneḥ ppriyam asya.*

(7) At the beginning and in the middle of a word, the letter 'sa', if followed by 'va' or 'ya', is not to be doubled.

This seems to be an exceptional rule. But, here, it should be noted, that no mention has

been previously made of the duplication of 'sa' which might necessitate an exception.

(8) At the end and in the middle of a word the letter 'ṛ', whether it is joined with consonants or not, should be pronounced together with the sound 'e'.

E.g., *Kṛṣṇo'si > kreṣṇo'si.*

Pitr̥mate > pitremate.

(9) At the end and in the middle of a word, a short letter should be pronounced as long. But this elongation does not take place, if the short letter is followed either by the letter 'ā' (whether in combination with consonants or not) or by a letter joined with a consonant or visarga.

E.g., *Māghaśamso dhruvā asmin gopatau syāma* (Saṃ. I. 1).

Here the letters 'gha', 'pa', and 'ta' should be sounded as long.

E.g., *Yajamānasya.*

Here, as the letter 'ja' is followed by 'ā', which is joined with a consonant 'm', this rule does not apply.

The above nine rules are briefly enunciated by the author himself in the following six kārīkās:

“*Pūrvā halvyoh padādan ca
vede, sampūrvayor vviḥau |*

*Yasyarharephayuktasya
jah padādyantamadhyake ||*

*Ṣasyoccāraḥ 'khakāraḥ syāt
tum vinā cchandasi svake ||*

*Vihalsāly ūrdhvarepho yas
saikāraḥ prāk samuccaret |*

*Anusvārasya vede
śali rephe pare bhavet ||*

*Hrasvād dīrgho dīrghāddhrasvas
saṃyoge ca pare guruḥ ||*

*Vyrkādayaḥ pañca vargāḥ
śarpūrvā guravaś ca te ||*

*Visargāc ca pare tadvad
rayuktās chandasi smṛtāḥ |*

*Hrasvam dīrgham bhavet kiñcit
saṃhitāyām paro na cet ||*

*Halsamyutāyutākāraś
cāvarṇo hal visargayuk ||''*

The above verses will be useful as mnemonics only to the close student of this treatise. For the general reader they will not serve any purpose, because they abound in technical terms. The subject of this work is the proper pronunciation of the text of the Mādhyandina recension. These rules of pronunciation seem to be purely arbitrary, and in these days, the pronunciation of 'kr' into 'kare', of 'guhya' into 'guhja' and of 'iṣe' into 'ikhe' require special instruction.* It may be guessed that such works on phonology had their origin mainly in a desire to keep up the traditional method of handing down phonological instruction, followed by the

early Vedic Aryans, whose pronunciation was perhaps, far from perfect. It is a well-known fact, that even Paṇḍits, who belong to some places in north India, pronounce 'ya' as 'ja' and a general indistinctness of sounds may also be observed in their ordinary discourse in Sanskrit.

It is stated that the author of the *Sarvasam-mata-sīkṣā* is also one Keśava.

“*Surudevabudhendrasya
nandanena mahātmanā |
Praṇītam keśavāryeṇa
lakṣaṇam sarvasammataṁ ||*”

Regarding the identity of Keśava with the author of this work, there is no evidence.

XI. KESAVI SIKSA.

The author of this work is also the same Keśava. The work contains 21 kārīkās. The topics fall under the following heads.

A. 1—6. The methods of indicating letters with fingers.

B. Rules of the pronunciation of letters.

7, 8. The letter 'ya'.

9—11. The letters 'r' and 'l'.

12, 13. Three kinds of pronunciation—guru (heavy), madhyama (middle), and laghu (light), of antasthas.

14. The letter 'ṣa'.

- 15—17. Anunāsika and its different kinds.
 18, 19. Pauses of the voice in pronunciation.
 20—21. The authorship of the work.

A careful study of this treatise will lead one to think, that this is not a complete work like some others on the same subject. This work also lays down the rules to be adopted by a student of the Vedas.

XII. ŚIKSA BY MALLASARMA.

This work is otherwise known as *Hastasvara-prakriyā*. The author is one Keśava. The following verses of his throw light on the date of the work and the author:

“*Śrīmatā kāṇyakubjēna*
hy upamanyavagnihotriṇā |
Śrīmadvedasvarūpāṇām
śrīmad-vākpatisarmanām ||
Sūnunā pitr̥bhaktena
mallavipreṇa dhīmatā |
Vikramārkagatābdeṣu
cendravasvagabhūmiṣu ||
Kṛteyam bālābodhāya
svahastasvaraprakriyā ||”

This work contains 65 kārīkās (memorial verses on scientific subjects) on the whole. Laying down the general rules of the study of the Vedas, the author, at the beginning of the work, mentions Manu and Rāvaṇa in the following manner:

“*Atha sādhanānaniyamāḥ—
Tathā Prātiśākhya manuḥ—
‘Brāhmaṇaḥ prañavam kuryād
ādāv ante ca sarvadā |
Sravaty anonkṛtam pūrvam
parastā ca viśīryate ||’*”

*

*

*

*Atra japāḍau hastasvaravarṇahīnasyāna-
dhikāritvam rāvaṇena svarāṅkuṣe yājña-
valkyena śikṣāyām ca bodhitam.’”*

From the above extract, it is clear, that there was in existence a *Prātiśākhya* by Manu. But there is no information from any other source to support this, or as to what recension of the Vēdic text it belongs. Hitherto only four *Prātiśākhyas* were known (the *R̥g-veda-prātiśākhya*, the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, the *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, and the *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*). But there are many works treating about the subjects of *Prātiśākhya*. To mention only a few, they are: the *Puṣpa-sūtra*, the *Nidāna-sūtra*, the *Upalekhā-sūtra*, and a work in *sūtra* form (gnomic sentence) named, as it appears to us, not quite correctly, the *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*, and recently published from Lahore under the editorship of Viśvabandhu-vidyārthi-śāstrin. Even the *Puṣpa-sūtra* is referred to as *Prātiśākhya* by many scholars. The above extract furnishes another piece of information: Rāvaṇa is the author of the *Svarāṅkuṣa-śikṣā*, a minor treatise defining the rules of accentuation and

saṃskāra. Now there exists a work of this name, and it is described here under No. 13, but the author of it is one Jayanta-svāmin. In the printed edition of this work, at the end, there is a foot-note of the editor, stating that some have ascribed the authorship of the work to Rāvaṇa. But the note is of little help to us as it might have been written with reference to the above extract of the present treatise. There are many evidences to prove that Rāvaṇa was a great author in Vedic and philosophical literature. Many extracts are to be seen in the later works from Rāvaṇa's commentary on Vedic texts, and some of them have been reproduced at the end of the first chapter of the present monograph. Rāvaṇa has also written a commentary on Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras*. Besides these, there are some minor works, one of them being *Rāvaṇa-bheṭ* connected with the Yajur-veda, which are in manuscript form. A stotra work, viz., the *Rāvaṇakṛta-śivatāṇḍava-stotra* has been published in the *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara* (Nirṇayasāgara edition) and is attributed to Rāvaṇa.

The main subject of the present treatise is the description of the method of indication of accents by different postures of the hand. There is no other work hitherto known, treating about this subject equally elaborately. The contents of the work are given below:

(1) *Sādhāraṇanīyamāḥ*.

(2) *Mūlasthānam*

- (3) *Sāmānyavidhiḥ.*
- (4) *Catussvaragatiḥ.*
- (5) *Pūrṇā-rdha-nyubja-jātyānām saṃjñā.*
- (6) *Hastasvaragatipramāṇam.*
- (7) *Āṅgulinissaraṇam.*
- (8) *Anunāsikasamjñā.*
- (9) *Kṣipravicārah.*
- (10) *Rekhābhir udāttā-nudātta-svaritasamjñā.*
- (11) *Takārādimānteṣu tarjanyaṅguṣṭhaya-
gādīmuṣṭyāntāḥ kriyāḥ (vicitragatiḥ).*
- (12) *Repha-viśeṣoktiḥ.*
- (13) *Brāhmaṇa-svara-saṃkṣepaḥ.*
- (14) *Raṅga-mahāraṅgā-tiraṅgāḥ.*
- (15) *Raṅgādīnām uccāraṇe pramāṇam.*
- (16) *Dviśvarakramaḥ.*
- (17) *Oṣṭhamakārasthānāni.*
- (18) *Oṣṭhamakārotpattiḥ.*
- (19) *Ṣṭhakārasthānāni.*

XIII. SVARANKUSA-SIKSA.

This is also a small treatise containing 25 verses. The author begins the work stating that he is going to define the various kinds of accents. At first he describes the four varieties of the circumflex accent: jātya, abhiniḥita, kṣaipra, and praśliṣṭa, and their

change into tremor in particular places. Then he deals with the three main accents and their combinations, which result in the change of one accent into another. After that, 'tairovyañjana', 'tairovirāma', and 'pādavṛtta'-circumflexes are characterised. For all these, he produces sufficient illustrations. He also mentions some rules, viz.:

(1) the circumflex-accent cannot be pronounced in some places,

(2) the tremor should be sounded in favour of the circumflex,

and (3) the rule for the pronunciation of a consonant, which is preceded by a vowel and joined with the last letter of the mute-series.

The different varieties of tremor (hrasva kampa, dīrgha-kampa, etc.), are also detailed here.

The 23rd verse of the work is as follows:

“*Jayantasvāminā proktāḥ*
ślokānām ekaviṃśatiḥ |
Svarāṅkuṣeti vikhyātā
bahvṛcām svarasiddhaye ||”

The above verse states that the work contains only 21 verses. But four additional verses are found in the printed edition.

The rules of the treatise, are meant for 'bhavṛcas'. But as the *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* also consists largely of mantra or Ṛk-portions, these rules seem to be necessary to a student of the *Śukla-yajurveda* also.

XIV. ṢODASASLOKI-SIKSA.

The name itself is significant of the length of the work. The author is one Rāmakṛṣṇa. Here, some elementary principles, regarding the pronunciation of words, are laid down, in a clear manner. The contents fall under:

(1) enumeration of letters.

(2) each of the original three vowels, which are the earliest and most universal vowels of the Indo-European languages can occur in 18 forms in the following manner:

(1) hrasva, (2) dīrgha, (3) pṛīṭa, ×

(1) udātta, (2) anudātta, (3) svarita, ×

(1) sānunāsika, (2) niranunāsika = 18.

(3) description of consonants.

(4) description of some contracted terms (pratyāhāra).

(5) description of the term sparśa, ūṣman, antastha, etc.

(6) jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya are considered to be 'ardhavisargas'.

(7) description of sthānas—kaṇṭha, tālu, etc.

and (8) how a student becomes fit to make proper sounds.

XV. AVASĀNANIRNAYA-SIKṢA.

The authorship of this work is ascribed to Ananta-deva. The name Ananta is widely known in the *Sukla-yajurvedic* literature. The author of the commentaries on the *Bhāṣika-sūtra*, the *Pratijñā-sūtra*, the *Suklayajus-sarvāmukramaṇī*, the *Kātyāyana-prātisākhya*, and the *Svarāṣṭaka-śikṣā*, is known as Ananta. But in some works his name is written as Ananta-deva, and in some others as Ananta-bhaṭṭa. It is not possible here to determine whether different authors were known by this same name or whether the same person is known as the author of different works. The date of the work is:

“*Rasavedāṅkendumite* (1946)

phālgune śuklapakṣake |

Pūrṇimāyām guror vāre’-

vasānāny ankitāni vai ||”

In this work the endings are numbered as follows:

- (1) Dvyavasāna 1493.
- (2) Antyāvasāna 233.
- (3) Tryavasāna 150.
- (4) Caturavasāna 32.
- (5) Niravasāna 56.
- (6) Madhyāvasāna 5.
- (7) Pañcāvasāna 8.
- (8) Ṣaḍavasāna 2.

(9) Navāvasāna 2.

The total number of endings is 1975.

XVI. 'SVARABHAKTI-AKSANAPARISISTA-SIKSA.

This work is ascribed to Kātyāyana. It contains 42 kārīkās. The style and diction lead one to think that the work belongs to a later period, than that of Kātyāyana. This ascription was not thought condemnable; as many other works on the field, which were later compositions, generally bore the authorship of great sages, it might be, simply to claim greater antiquity. Instances are to be found in the *Vyāsa-śikṣā*, the *Mādhyandina-śikṣā*, the *Bhāradvāja-śikṣā*, etc.

In this work, many pratyāhāras (contracted forms), which are known as Pāṇini's inventions, are used. If the author of this work had been Kātyāyana, he would naturally have used the same pratyāhāras in his *Prātiśākhya*, *Pratijñā-sūtra* and *Bhāṣka*, so that the bulk of those works could have been reduced to two-thirds of their present length. The last 6 verses of the treatise are with regard to svara-bhakti, and are a re-production from the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*. The subjects are:

- (1) Varieties of the circumflex-accent.
- (2) Some euphonic combinations.
- (3) Duplication.
- (4) Classification of euphony (lopa, āgama, vikāra and prakṛtibhāva).

(5) Description of 'vivṛtti' and its kinds.

(6) Different kinds of 'svara-bhakti'.

After the fourth, the following sentence is to be seen:

'Iti Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya-varṇoccāraprakārah.'

XVII. KRAMASANDHANA-SIKSA.

The work accurately states the number of (krama) sandhānas in each of the sections or adhyāyas according to the krama text.

'XVIII. GALADRK-SIKSA.

This work calculates the number of Ṛks, which have some portion in common. The work is a reproduction of the second section of the Śikṣā by Mādhyandina-maharṣi, which is described here under number eight.

XIX. PRATISAKHYAPRADĪPA-SIKSA.

This is a later and bigger work than the rest. The author is one Bālakṛṣṇa. He gives the date of the work in the following words:

*“Śāke dvyaḥkrāṣṭabhūmite
śubhe vikramavatsare |
Māghe māsi site pakṣe
pratipad-bhānuvāsare ||
Prātiśākhyapradīpākhyā
śikṣeyam racitā śubhā |¹
Goḍaśe ity upāhvena
bālakṛṣṇena dhīmatā ||”*

He has written this work after consulting several Śikṣās and Prātiśākhya. He mentions Yājñavalkya, *Vāsiṣṭha-śikṣā*, Pārāśara, the *Laghumādhyandinīya-śikṣā*, the *Amoghanandinī-śikṣā*, the *Mallakavikṛta-sarvasamgraha-hastasvaraprakriyā*,³ Pāṇini, the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*, Keśava (*śikṣā-kāra*), the *Śrībhāṣya*, the *Navāṅka-sūtra* (*Keśavī śikṣā*), the author of the *Jyotsnā*,⁴ the author of the *Pratijñā-sūtra-bhāṣya*, the *Mādhyandina-śikṣā*, the *Kātyāyana-śikṣā*, the *Amareśī-śikṣā*, the *Āditya-purāṇa*, the *Vārāha-purāṇa*, and the *Parāśara-smṛti*. Not only does this work clearly state the subjects of Prātiśākhya but it also defines most of the *Prātiśākhya-sūtras*, section by section, with illustrations. In the Prātiśākhya, the arrangement of subjects is not satisfactorily made, and the sūtras dealing with several subjects, are found without any order in some particular chapters. But the author of the present treatise deals with the subject in his own way and in some places discusses additional subjects which are not handled in the Prātiśākhya. The following headings will give an idea of the subjects dealt with:

3. Here the Śikṣā of Mallāśarman is mentioned. From this, it is understood that he is known as kavi. There was a Sanskrit poet by name Hāstimalla. Perhaps, it is he who is alluded to here by the name Mallakavi according to the popular maxim “*Nāmaika-deśagrahaṇe nāmagrahaṇam*”, just like Gupta for Candragupta, Bhāmā for Satyabhāmā, etc.

4. Perhaps this mention has reference to the commentary on the *Kātyāyana-prātiśākhya* by Rāmacandra, son of Siddheśvara.

- (1) Method of the study of the Vedas.
- (2) The persons unfit to study the Vedas.
- (3) Defects of hands.
- (4) Different postures of the hand.
- (5) Discussion on accents.
- (6) Definitions of acute, grave and circumflex-accents.
- (7) Eight kinds of the circumflex-accent and their definitions with illustrations.
- (8) Description of 'pracaya' accent.
- (9) Rules of vowel-combination.
- (10) Rules of consonant-combination.
 - (a) Description of anusvāra.
 - (b) How to indicate anusvāra by fingers.
 - (c) Rules of visarga-combination (visarga-sandhi).
 - (d) Section regarding the letter 'ṣa' (ṣatva-prakarāṇa).
 - (e) Section on the letter 'ṇa' (ṇatva-prakarāṇa).
 - (f) Section on the vowel-lengthening.
 - (g) Duplication.
 - (h) *Pūrvāṅga-parāṅga-cintā*.
- (11) Section on anudātta (anudāttādhikāra).
- (12) Section on ādyudātta.

(13) Dvirudāttādhikāra.

(14) Tryudāttādhikāra.

(15) Antodāttādhikāra.

(16) Prakṛti-svara.

(17) Characteristics of padas (words), their classification, etc.

(18) Avagrahādhikāra.

(19) Description of Saṅkrama.

(20) Construction of Krama-text.

(21) Enumeration of Krama-sandhāna.

(22) Method of the pronunciation of the letter repha, which is joined with the ūṣman letters and 'ṛ' (svara-bhakti). .

(23) Details regarding the pronunciation of the letter 'ṛ'.

(24) Pronunciation of 'j'.

(25) Pronunciation of 'v'.

(26) Pronunciation of 'ṣ'.

(27) Description of eight vikṛtipāṭhas (fictitious recitations).

Under the fifth of the above 27 sections, it is stated that consonants have also different accents. The accent *pracaṇa* is described as follows:

“*Svaritāt param anudāttam udāttamayam
ekam anekam vā.*”

The grave-accent, if preceded by the circumflex accent, should be pronounced in mono-tone (eka-śruti), whether it falls on one or many letters. This 'pracaya' is known among Vaidikas as 'pracita', 'praca', 'nicita', and 'udāttamaya'. The traditional method of indicating the 'pracaya' is by touching the tip of the nose with the hand.

Kātyāyana has defined saṅkrama:

“*Tripadādyāvartamāne saṅkramah*”

(IV. 166).

The re-occurrence of the beginning of the third word is called 'saṅkrama'.

The derivation of the word is,

‘*saṅkramyata iti saṅkramah*,’

and it means that the saṅkrama of the re-occurring words takes place with the non-recurring words. The joint recitation of the two words: the first with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, etc., is called 'krama-pāṭha'.

E.g., *Iṣe tvā, tvorje, etc.*

In this manner, the recitation goes on till the end of '*paśūn pāhi*'; and wherever the Saṅkrama takes place, the recurring words are dropped. The joined recitation of the next word is called 'krama-sandhāna'. In this section, the author incidentally gives the number of krama-sandhānas in each chapter of the *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā*. Method of helping the student of the krama text is to be found also in the *Kramasandhāna-śikṣā*. In the pronunciation of the repha,

only the ūṣman letters are considered to be pretexts in the *Prātiśākhya* and *Śikṣās*; but in the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa* the letter 'ṛ' is also considered as a pretext. So the pronunciation of this letter has become a matter of doubt among Vaidikas. But Vaidikas must follow only the method, which is accepted by the authors of the *Prātiśākhya*, the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*, the *Mādhyandina-śikṣā*, etc., and which is traditionally followed.

The fictitious recitation of the Vedic text is of eight kinds. They are termed as *jaṭā*, *mālā*, *śikhā*, *rekḥā*, *dhavaṇa*, *daṇḍa*, *ratha*, and *ghana*. There was in existence a work by name "*Vikṛtivalī*" by Ācārya-Vyāḍi or Dākṣāyaṇa by another name, the celebrated grammarian, who is mentioned in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, and in the *Mahābhāṣya* in the latter work as the author of a grammatical work in a hundred-thousand verses called—*Samgraha*, and who from his name Dākṣāyaṇa is supposed to be a near relative of Pāṇini or Dākṣiṇputra.⁵

The last section deals with the description of these varieties.

XX. VEDAPARIBHASASUTRA-SIKṢA.

XXI. VEDAPARIBHASAKARIKA-SIKṢA.

These two works, of which the author is Rāmācandra, son of Siddheśvara, are considered to be the guides to the pada text. The latter work, which

5. Goldstucker, *Pāṇini*, pp. 209—211.

contains 10 kārīkās and their commentary is as it were a supplement to the former, which is in sūtra form. The first accurately gives in certain symbolie words each containing four letters the number of Rks, anuvākas, and padas in each chapter of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, and the second book explains these symbols.

XXII. YAJURVIDHANA-SIKSA.

This is an early work containing six sections or adhyāyas. The author is not known. This work describes the use of mantras in religious sacrifices.

XXIII. SVARASTAKA-SIKSA.

The author of this small work is one Ananta. The word svarāṣṭaka means the eight letters: 'a', 'i', 'u', 'ṛ' (ṛ̥), 'e', 'ai', 'o', and 'au'. This work deals with the following subjects:

- (1) Vowel-combination.
- (2) Accents.
- (3) Different postures of the hand.
- (4) Consonant-combination.
- (5) Visarga-sandhi.

XXIV. KRAMAKARIKA-SIKSA.

This work describes all the kramāvasānas of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*.

Conclusion.

Minor works laying down the rules of euphony, accentuation, etc., are also to be met with, in manuscript form in several Oriental libraries. But the method of treatment in them is different and they are of ~~no~~ great value.

To the scholar, who is familiar with the subject, two systems of pronunciation will be evident. No definite explanation of their origin is possible. But it is clear that they stand to each other in the same relation as Prākṛt and Saṃskṛt: the one a provincial and arbitrary form that had lost its shape on the tongues of the illiterate, and the other, the embellished and elaborated one of the Pāṇḍits, used in the royal courts and learned assemblies, and, later on, bound by intricate rules of grammar and phonetics. The former comprises such easily explicable variations as the pronunciation of 'kh' for 'ś', 'kare' for 'kr', etc., and the latter is the method adopted by the Śrauta scholars who came after and who used it in the Pada, Krama and other artificial forms of the Vedic text. In the case of Vedic accentuation, however, the antiquity of any system is no proof of its naturalness; and such light as modern phonology can throw on the subject can only serve to show which is *less* artificial, where both are, to the superficial student, equally so.

